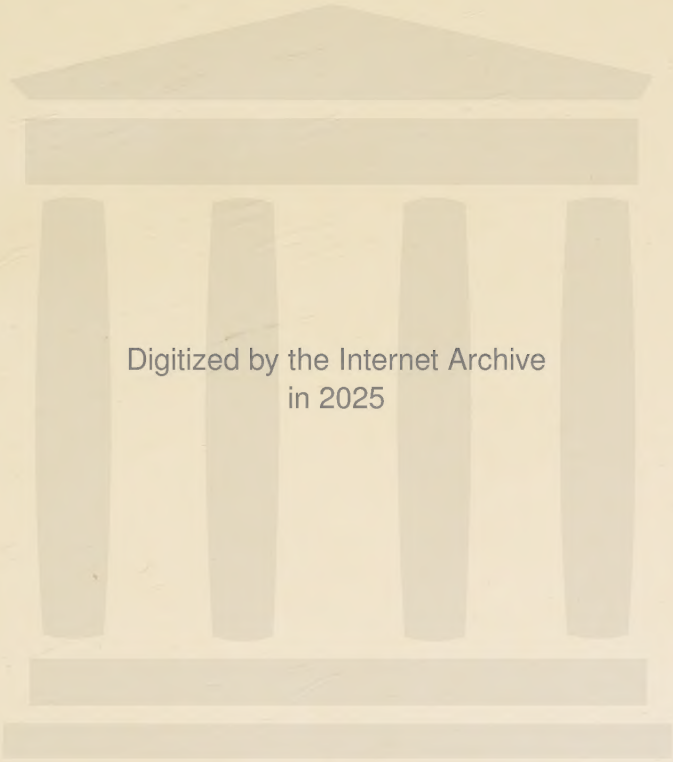
DG798.4 .C4713 1909
De Cesare, Raffaele,
1845-1918.
The last days of papal Rome,
1850-1870

945
C337l



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/lastdaysofpapalr0000rdec_t4j9

Pius IX.

THE LAST DAYS OF PAPAL ROME

1850—1870

BY

R. DE CESARE

Abridged with the assistance of the Author and Translated by

HELEN ZIMMERN

With an Introductory Chapter by

G. M. TREVELYAN

ILLUSTRATED

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED
1909

C337l

BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO. LD., PRINTERS,
LONDON AND TONBRIDGE.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

41390

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

FOLLOWING up my former work, "The End of a Kingdom," in which I narrated the last years of the Neapolitan sovereignty, I now endeavour to picture the last years of Papal Rome, though I confess I do not wish to pass for the necrologist of the old Italian States.

I have employed the method made use of in the previous work on Naples, a method to which may be attributed the success it had, but I confess that, for the recent events of Roman life, the difficulty of research was much greater, if only because I have here covered a period of twenty years. Also there was nothing homogeneous about the Papal States, and the historical conditions of the provinces were substantially different on the two sides of the Apennines. Nor did the Holy See publish its diplomatic documents. Besides, ecclesiastics, as is well known, are more cautious in making revelations and confessions than are the laity.

To unfold that interesting and dramatic period which opened with the return of Pius IX. and closed with the fall of the temporal power, it was necessary to pause and weigh the mass of publications issued concerning the epoch, besides searching among

private archives and familiar correspondence and also questioning survivors. More than once I was discouraged, and felt tempted to abandon the enterprise. Only the passion for research supported me in this arduous labour, which often appeared indiscreet and was often painful, because it destroyed many a legend, dashed many a prejudice, and demolished many a romance. I was only encouraged by my desire to take a moral photograph of the Papal States and to perpetuate their memory.

Rome, since September 20, 1870, has so changed as to render the reconstruction of her past most difficult, a past complicated by historical circumstances and by reason of its geography; a city not really in the centre of Italy, the political capital of a small Italian State and the religious capital of the Catholic world, girdled by a desert and marshes, almost skirting the sea, yet not a maritime city; subject to the enervating sirocco, enclosed within walls, of which two-thirds surrounded villas, vineyards, meadows, malarial cane fields and ruins.

Notwithstanding the transformation caused by pulling down and rebuilding that has been so great as to cause the old city to be unrecognisable, this is as nothing compared with the moral revolution accomplished. The pyramid has been inverted. The laity, tolerated by the clemency of the ecclesiastics, has become their master; a laity, not Roman, but national. And with this new power, new systems have been imposed and needs have arisen which it

seems incredible should have not been felt even before the day when Rome became the Italian capital. The old generation, of whom a few survive, is fast disappearing, and when it shall have disappeared none will know what the city was like in its intimacy, with its social classes, its public and private economy, its government, its hierarchies, its relations with the larger world, its political conspiracies and intrigues, not to mention the confusion of the temporal and spiritual powers, a fertile source of those religious and political evils which, though they were no greater than the evils of the other Italian despotisms, had in the Papal States special characteristics of their own.

I may also remark that, for many centuries, the most contradictory verdicts have been passed upon Rome. Travellers and diplomats, scholars and archæologists, sentimentalists and erudite men, from all quarters of the world, have created a Rome of their own, conventional or one-sided, with an equipment of exaggerations, of prejudices and also of criticisms, occasionally just, in homage to her culture and tradition.

It was necessary to resuscitate that world, vanished since half a century, to grasp the true causes of events which, observed with partisan or doctrinal preconceptions, have never been truthfully judged. The most rigorous research should be expended upon men, because the eternal material of history is man; man, lay or cleric in his environment, with his passions, noble or vulgar, with his ideals of moral grandeur or

with the baseness of his petty egoisms. Unless historical phenomena are made to live again in their various manifestations, even the most negligible, it is difficult to reveal them truthfully. Still more is this the case in dealing with contemporary history and with the extraordinary events by means of which the political unity of a country, never before united, was achieved and a thousand-year-old power, which seemed immortal, was brought to an end.

This volume is, so to speak, real life lived by means of my own recollections and those of others. My collaborators have been too many to indicate them all; not a few have vanished from the world; others are old, and by them the past is remembered as a great ideal, dreamt of in youth, and attained or else dissipated by unexpected events. Contemporary publications, it often wanting in precision and objectivity, yet possess the merit of revealing the passions and exaggerations of the moment. I have employed these writings as the starting point for my investigations which aim at reproducing that Pontifical world upon which the political storm was about to burst and whose precursory signs appeared almost the very day of Pius IX.'s return to his capital. The events accomplished in twenty years prove to be the natural consequence of those historic laws from which the political Papacy flattered itself it was to be exempt.

If the fall of the Papal States lacks the tragic note struck by the end of the kingdom of Naples, the dramatic note was there. The historical importance

of the event was greater and more universal because of the sovereign's twofold capacity. While gradually despoiled of his temporal dominions, he remained in his religious capital with its Court and its departments. None desired his expulsion; indeed, all were agreed in desiring his presence in Rome, guaranteed and honoured by Italian arms and laws as the head of Catholicism. The State expired under the Pontificate of one of the most sentimental and impulsive Popes ever possessed by the Church, who, after employing every weapon, spiritual and temporal, to keep his dominions, did not lack courage to resist even to the last. The temporal power fell, partly because it appeared no longer necessary to the Catholic conscience, which reasoned that, if exempted from political power, the Pontiff's independence and the liberty of the Church would be better guaranteed.

Many events are here for the first time recorded, referring not only to the Papal States but to Italian politics. They are revelations which, after so many years, can be published without indiscretion, illuminating essential points in our civil history and rectifying not a few errors. I have given a large place to anecdotes, for I hold that they illustrate and reanimate facts and make the personalities of the actors more vividly human.

The epoch of conventional history is passed, I mean of the old-fashioned history, dealing with wars, embassies, diplomatic intrigues and Court life, told in pompous and rhetorical sentences. History is

now called upon to reproduce all human manifestations, all social life, in its simplest form. Also documents must be fused into the narrative, nay, transubstantiated, as ecclesiastical language has it, and never left to themselves.

I cannot conclude this preface without a word of gratitude to those who have lightened my task by assisting me in research. I must specially mention two names closely linked with the history of Italy, Marchese Emilio Visconti - Venosta and Count Costantino Nigra.

R. DE CESARE.

ROME,
Christmas, 1906.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	AUTHOR'S PREFACE	v
	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
	INTRODUCTION	xv
CHAPTER		
I.	THE ENTRY OF THE POPE INTO ROME, 1850	1
II.	RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD *RÉGIME*—MACHINATIONS OF THE SECRET SOCIETIES	13
III.	RECALL OF BARAGUAY—NEW TAXES	26
IV.	THE FIRST CONSISTORY—THE NEW MUNICIPALITY	40
V.	REVIVAL OF COSMOPOLITAN LIFE	51
VI.	THE ARISTOCRACY	65
VII.	SOCIAL LIFE AND ITS GRADES	85
VIII.	THE ROME OF YESTERDAY	108
IX.	PIUS IX.—THE DOGMA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION —THE RAILWAYS	117
X.	ART AND ARTISTS	141
XI.	THE PONTIFICAL JOURNEY THROUGH THE PROVINCES	156
XII.	THE RAPE OF YOUNG MORTARA—THE JEWS IN ROME	176
XIII.	THEATRES AND NEWSPAPERS	185
XIV.	THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH IN 1859	198
XV.	THE EVE OF THE WAR—CONSPIRACIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN ROME AND THE PROVINCES	218
XVI.	THE RISING IN BOLOGNA AND OTHER PLACES	234
XVII.	THE POPE'S PROTESTS—THE CONGRESS	240
XVIII.	THE UNIVERSITY	249

CHAPTER		PAGE
XIX.	THE TWO COMMITTEES	255
XX.	THE HOLY SEE PREPARES FOR DEFENCE	268
XXI.	THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860—CASTELFIDARDO	279
XXII.	THE CAPITULATION OF ANCONA, ORVIETO AND VITERBO	289
XXIII.	NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGOTIATORS	297
XXIV.	RICASOLI'S SCHEME—THE PETITION OF FATHER PASSAGLIA	311
XXV.	THE SACRED COLLEGE	317
XXVI.	THE FAUSTI CASE	334
XXVII.	THE CONVENTION OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1864	347
XXVIII.	THE VEGEZZI AND TONELLO MISSIONS	357
XXIX.	DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH FROM ROME	368
XXX.	THREE MONTHS OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS—THE RETURN OF THE FRENCH	377
XXXI.	MENTANA, 1867	393
XXXII.	THE LAST TWO YEARS	406
XXXIII.	THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL	422
XXXIV.	ON THE EVE	439
XXXV.	THE TWENTIETH OF SEPTEMBER, 1870	453

INTRODUCTION

Among the historians and scholars engaged on the period of the Italian *Risorgimento*, a numerous and effective body in the Italy of to-day, Signor De Cesare holds a high place. His reputation rests chiefly on his famous *Fine di un regno*, the history of the last years of the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and its fall in 1860 before Garibaldi's attack. Impartiality and intimate social and family knowledge are the special keynotes of his work, both in his "necrology" of the Kingdom of Naples, and in the somewhat similar work on the last years of the Papal Dominion in Central Italy, of which an abbreviated version is here presented to the British public.

A patriotic Italian, Signor De Cesare soberly rejoices in the fall of the two extraordinary governments of which he has left us such minutely photographic impressions. But he has the impartiality of a man well able to see the faults of all parties and persons. He is as easily revolted by Liberal and Patriotic as by Clerical violence and rodomontade. He is full of sympathy with what was picturesque and kindly in the past, and of criticism for what is still unreformed in the new Rome. For the new Rome, as he clearly sees, is in some respects all too much the outcome of the old

Rome which it undertook to destroy. The picture of Pio Nono himself, kindly, narrow, pleasingly childish, shrewd in small matters and stupid about great affairs, writing charades on the word *tremare* ("to tremble") at the last supreme moment when the Italian troops were pouring over the breach near the Porta Pia and the oldest monarchy in Europe was crumbling on his head (p. 455), is a good example of impartiality in historical portraiture.

Signor De Cesare's impartiality is largely a result of the other quality of his work—intimate social and family knowledge of his subject. Not so great an archivist as some other Italian scholars of the *Risorgimento* of the present generation, De Cesare stands alone for his personal knowledge of the traditions and "*on dits*" of a past epoch of society, and he is besides well qualified to sift truth from error in these old-world stories. The history of gossip has its own importance, but it is too rarely written by competent persons. For the last twenty years of the Temporal Power in Rome, this kind of knowledge is specially interesting and valuable. It enables us to know better than by any other means what were the spirit and character of that last and most completely antique relic of the old world which only forty years ago was still sitting crowned upon the Seven Hills. "De Cesare"—wrote Professor Alessandro Luzio in reviewing this work when it appeared in Italy two years back—"De Cesare belongs to the very small class of Liberals who know Clerical society to the bottom, and

can find their way perfectly through the complicated psychology of the political priest (*prete politico*)."

One of the chief peculiarities of Papal Rome, the system of charities, is put in its rightly prominent place by De Cesare. The kindness of the Church was far more injurious than the severities, for the latter sometimes spurred even modern Romans to courage and rebellion. But the charities ruined Roman character. According to De Cesare, the system was not even Christian in origin, but the legacy of the Roman Empire and Republic (not Mazzini's Republic, but that of Pompey and Crassus). So old is Italian history. (See pp. 96—7.)

It may be well to remind those English readers who are unfamiliar with the history of the *Risorgimento* of the main outlines of the events in which the story of this book is set. The Temporal Power of the Popes, which, like all else Italian, had gone into the Napoleonic melting pot, was restored for another two generations as the result of Leipzig and Waterloo. The Pope's personal rule extended until 1859—60 from sea to sea, and included not only Rome and the district round it known as the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, but *Umbria*, covering the central Apennine districts, the *Marches* on the Adriatic coast, including Ancona, and the *Romagna* (The "Legations") in the southern part of the plain of Po, including Bologna and Ravenna. These four regions were all governed by priests and primarily for the purposes of religion, being marked

out from all other States of Europe by their Theocratic character. They are therefore peculiarly interesting as an object of study, and Signor De Cesare's work has greatly assisted such an investigation.

For more than thirty years the restored rule of the priests remained unshaken, although the severities of the harsh Pope Gregory XVI. (1831—1846) against the Liberal conspirators, and against all signs of modern change, did much to foster discontent. The succession of Pio Nono (Pius IX.) in 1846 ushered in a new era. His kindly disposition, which he and other Italians mistook for Liberal principles, set going in the Papal States and in the rest of Italy the movement for liberation. The movement went too fast and far for the Pope, and in the winter of 1848—9 the quarrel of ruler and subjects culminated in the disgraceful murder by the Democrats of Rossi, who stood between the parties, the flight of the Pope to Gaeta to take refuge with the King of Naples, and the proclamation of the Roman Republic. The arrival of Mazzini and Garibaldi on the scene in the spring of 1849 lent to the movement dignity, romance, and some power of military resistance. But the end could not be long postponed. Austrian armies, now triumphant against Piedmont in the valley of the Po, re-established the Pope's authority in Romagna and the Marches, while the French clerical Republic (fast transforming itself into the military despotism of Napoleon III.) reconquered the city of Rome after the famous siege in June, 1849.

It is at this point that Signor De Cesare takes up the story of the Papal States, which he continues down to the entry of the Italian troops into the city on September 20, 1870. The scene with which the first chapter opens (p. 1, below) refers to the Pope's return to Rome from Gaeta in April, 1850, and to his parting with Ferdinand II., the famous despot of Naples, who had sheltered him during the period of the Roman Republic. The early chapters of the book are chiefly an account of the character of the restored rule of priests, now dependent on the French armies in the south and on the Austrian in the north of the Papal States; and of the social and economic life of Rome and the Roman provinces of that day, which Signor De Cesare is peculiarly competent to compare, as he does with judicial impartiality, to the life of to-day.

In Chapters XV.—XVI. the political narrative is resumed, and the first stage in the dismemberment of the States of the Church is related. That first stage was the revolt of the Romagna, the most northern and the most progressive of the Papal provinces, whose inhabitants drove out the Pope's officers immediately after the Austrian garrison had been withdrawn, owing to the war of 1859 between Piedmont and France on the one hand and Austria on the other. Chapter XX. tells the story of the formation of the famous Papal Army of Crusaders from all countries, including Ireland, Austria, Belgium, and France, to enable Pius IX. to protect his remaining

provinces, especially Umbria and the Marches, threatened by the revolution which was being organised across the frontier under the shield of the Piedmontese Monarchy. The Pope wished for a force of his own, in order not to depend solely on the aid of Napoleon III., which was alike unwillingly given and grudgingly received. In 1860 the crisis came. Garibaldi successfully invaded Sicily and Naples, destroying the Bourbon Kingdom, as Signor De Cesare has described in his *Fine di un regno.* Cavour, to recover the lead of the patriotic movement for Victor Emmanuel and for himself, with wise rashness determined to attack the Papal territories from the north (pp. 275—6, below). The situation created by Garibaldi and his volunteers in the south enabled Cavour to destroy the Papal dominion in the centre of Italy. In September, 1860, the Piedmontese regular army invaded Umbria and the Marches and destroyed the newly-formed Papal army in the field of Castel Fidardo (Chaps. XXI.—XXII.).

Napoleon, however, protected the city of Rome and the province in which it is situated (The Patrimony of St. Peter) from the general ruin. Shrunk to this little measure, the Temporal Power dragged out an uneasy existence for ten years longer. The book therefore divides itself here (p. 297). Chapters I.—XXII. describe the government of a State stretching from sea to sea, full of famous though scarcely of flourishing cities. Chapters XXIII. to the end describe the government of a diminished State that was

scarcely more than the poverty-stricken district round Rome.

The two chief incidents in this last period of the Papal Power are, first, the unfortunate Mentana affair (1867), when the Italian Government and Garibaldi, who was now growing old, between them failed as completely as they had succeeded in 1860 (Chaps. XXIX.—XXXI.), and secondly the famous Council that declared the Infallibility (Chap. XXXIII.). The book ends (Chap. XXXV.) with the entry of the Italian troops on September 20, 1870, as an immediate consequence of the battle of Sedan. Since that day the Popes, left in full sovereignty of the Vatican Palace and grounds, which thus still represent the "Papal States," have refused to leave their residence there, by way of protest against the Italian occupation of Rome. But during the pontificate of the present Pope the protest has become, if not merely nominal, at least admittedly unreal. The present Pope, though perhaps as little Liberal in theological matters as any of his predecessors, is spoken of as a "good Italian."

A recent work of considerable historical value has been published by Mons. Bourgeois in France, entitled "*Rome et Napoléon III.*" We may notice that much the same conclusions are arrived at by the Italian as by the French historian. "The Roman question," writes De Cesare, "was the stone tied to Napoleon's "feet that dragged him into the abyss. He never "forgot, even in August, 1870, a month before Sedan,

"that he was sovereign of a Catholic country, that he "had been made Emperor and was supported by the "votes of the Conservatives and the influence of the "clergy; and that it was his supreme duty not to "abandon the Pontiff. He cherished the conviction "that Rome, owing to her history and her moral and "political conditions, would never rise against the Pope, "that any revolutionary movements were impotent; "and, therefore, by guaranteeing Rome to the Pope, he "was persuaded that he was at the same time "guaranteeing the independence of the Romans. He "also cherished a chivalrous sentiment towards "Pius IX. very different from that which Pius bore "towards him. If the Pope, in his conversations "with Ambassadors and in his official speeches, over-"flowed with good will towards the Emperor of the "French, in reality he never trusted him, and it almost "seemed as if he shared the prejudices of the more "vulgar clerical world, who had baptised Napoleon "*the Devil's son*" (pp. 440—1, below).

It was by his refusal to abandon Rome to Italy that Napoleon forfeited the Italian and thereby the Austrian alliance against Prussia in the decisive war of 1870.

"The phrase," continues De Cesare, "attributed "later to the Empress, *Better the Prussians in Paris "than the Piedmontese in Rome*, was conceived in the "exaggerated spirit that dominated the politicians who "surrounded the Emperor and urged him by many "pretexts into a senseless and needless war when

"he was ill and unwilling and unprepared, and with "an unprecedented hurry, which placed France in "the wrong before all the world." So the French Catholics were paid for their ill-treatment of Italy by the subjugation of their own country to Prussia, and by the establishment of the Third Republic. The price has proved decidedly heavy, even for the pleasure of leading some hundreds of Garibaldini in triumph through the streets of Rome after the battle of Mentana.

G. M. Trevelyan.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

PIUS IX. . . . . *Frontispiece*

THE DUKE OF SERMONETA, DOYEN OF THE ROMAN ARISTOCRACY UNDER PIO NONO 72

THE FARNESE PALACE AT ROME, COMMENCED UNDER POPE PAUL III. 115

PADRE EDGARDO MORTARA 177

CARDINAL ALTIERI, DON FERNANDO MUNOZ, GENERAL DE LAMORICIÈRE, PRINCIPE FILIPPO DORIA PANFILI . . . 272

MGR. DE MERODE, WAR MINISTER OF PIO NONO IN 1860 . . 341

CARDINAL ANTONELLI, CHIEF MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE POPE 345

THE PORTA PIA AFTER THE ENTRANCE OF THE ITALIAN ARMY IN 1870 456

THE LAST DAYS OF PAPAL ROME

CHAPTER I

THE ENTRY OF THE POPE INTO ROME

"I BLESS you, I bless your family, your kingdom, your people. I know not how to express my gratitude for the hospitality extended to me," said the Pope, taking leave of his royal host.

"I have done nothing," answered the King, "I have but fulfilled my duty as a Christian."

"Yes," replied the Pope in a voice full of emotion, "your loyal affection has been great and sincere."

This parting took place in the afternoon of April 6, 1850, at Epitaffio, on the frontier between Fondi and Terracino, and the event is commemorated in the picture now hanging in the Vatican, painted by Bigioli. In it Pius IX. is seen embracing Ferdinand II. of Naples, the Crown Prince kneeling before him. On his right stand Cardinals Antonelli and Dupont, the prelate Medici d'Ottaiano, *major-domo*, Borromeo, chamberlain, Hohenlohe, *cameriere segreto*, and Monsignor Stella, all of whom had travelled with him. There are besides the Minister of Public Works, Prince Gabrielli, who acted as Minister of War, and

other less important persons who had met the Pope at Epitaffio.

By the King's side is seen his brother, Count d'Aquila, their brother-in-law, Sebastiano di Spagna, Monsignor Garibaldi, Papal Nuncio at Naples, and other dignitaries. The only person on horseback is Major Alfredo Dentice di Frasso, clad in the magnificent hussar uniform of the Royal Guards. This officer, a member of the highest aristocracy of Naples, was in command of the squadron which escorted the Pope from Caserta to Terracino. Ferdinand II., desirous of showing Pius IX. a special mark of reverence, accompanied him, not only to Portella, the limit of the Neapolitan frontier, but as far as Epitaffio, the Pontifical frontier, and caused him to be escorted up to the gates of Rome by Neapolitan soldiers, while the horses for his carriage, as far as Terracino, were supplied by the Neapolitan posts.

The journey lasted eight days, for, in consequence of bad roads and almost continuous rain, it could only proceed by short stages. Starting by train from Postici, April 8, the party slept at Caserta, and the next day, the Pope, accompanied by the King and Princes, rode in a roomy but heavy travelling coach, made in Naples, and drawn by six horses; the handles were shaped like Pontifical keys, but without the triple crown. After dining at Capua with the archbishop, they slept at Sessa, and the next day found them at the bridge of Garigliano, where the inhabitants had assembled to receive the benediction. Thence they

proceeded to Gaeta. Here the Pope visited the cathedral, heard Mass, and permitted the authorities to kiss his foot. In the archiepiscopal palace a sumptuous repast was served, after which the Pope blessed the troops and populace from the palace balcony, while from the fort of Santa Maria and the men-of-war the guns thundered a salute, and the church bells rang merrily.

Accompanied by the King and the Duke of Calabria, the Pope re-entered the carriage, and when Epitaffio was reached and the King and Princes got out, the *major-domo* and chamberlain took their place, remaining with him until they reached Rome.

At Terracina, where they arrived after midnight, were assembled the Ministers of the Interior, Finance, and Justice, and Princess Giuseppina Lancellotti. Here Pius IX. beheld for the first time this portion of his dominions, and the first impression, on leaving the fertile plains of Fondi, covered with beautiful vineyards, majestic oak-trees and groups of blossoming fruit-trees, must have been painful. Between Portella and Epitaffio lay an almost barren, neutral zone, four kilometres broad, and winding between the sea and the hills, covered with thin woods, ran the old Appian Way. This low marshy country has ever been the home of smugglers and highwaymen.

Instead of taking the good reclaimed road by way of Cisterna, the longest route and least good road was chosen, although the carriage wheels sank deep into the mud. But the Pope desired to visit

Frosinone, Velletri, Ceccano, Valmontone, Ferentino, and Alatri.

Every now and again the travellers met groups of peasantry, more curious than enthusiastic, led by priests. Some triumphal arches, of primitive design, had been erected by the zeal of the chapters. Wherever a sacred memorial was in evidence, or he met a group of representative clergy praying for the privilege of kissing his foot, the Pope halted. At the abbey of Fossanuova he visited the cell where St. Thomas had died, and knelt before the crucifix that had spoken with the philosopher. Pius IX. travelled modestly, without any of the pomp which, seven years before, had distinguished the passage of Gregory XIV. On the evening of April 10, tired out, he reached Velletri, lodging in the Legate's palace where a year previously Ferdinand II. and Garibaldi had been entertained. The following day he visited churches and convents, conversing with the faithful.

On April 12, a Friday, the last stage was reached. There were not lacking those who deemed the fact of evil augury. Starting at eight, lunch was provided at Albano by the bishop. The Pope asked for a cup of soup, but was told that, as it was Friday, it could not be had. Smiling, and without resentment, his Holiness bowed before the strictness of the bishop. His train was now considerably augmented owing to the crowd that had poured out of Rome. At Genzano, the last stage of the squadron of Neapolitan hussars being accomplished, the officers received the

Papal thanks and permission to kiss his foot. They were replaced by a squadron of *Cacciatori Affricani.* Descending through Albano between the fertile vineyards of Marino and Grottoferrato, they proceeded gaily amid the curious looks of the crowd that continued to increase as the gates of Rome were approached.

The entry was fixed for four o'clock. The people flocked through the Porta S. Giovanni. The inns overflowed with excited crowds. All were curious to see the Pope after so many vicissitudes and an absence of seventeen months. The French and Pontifical troops lined the way as far as St. Peter's. Volleys were fired as soon as the plumed couriers could be discerned, announcing, at half-hour intervals, the approach of the procession. Upon the steps of St. John Lateran the spectacle assumed an almost theatrical aspect, consisting of groups of cardinals in red, prelates, municipal councillors in purple, besides the bright dresses of the Diplomatic Corps, of the students, seminarists, and various monastic orders who had received an injunction from the Cardinal-Vicar to be present.

The Government Commission of three Cardinals, called the "Red Triumvirate," had notified the people that the Pope was returning to his dominions, thanks to the valour of his Catholic soldiers. The zealous Cardinal Patrizi had arranged for the simultaneous ringing of all the church bells, to last two hours, as soon as the gun of St. Angelo announced

that the procession had reached the gate, and also that during three days in place of the collect "*pro Papa*," the prayer "*pro gratiarum actione*" be recited. The Provisional Municipal Commission also had made known the return of the Pope, beside deciding solemnly to present His Holiness with the keys of the city. As they were anxious to reproduce the mediæval ceremony with the greatest exactitude, two small keys were especially cast.

Preceded by a squadron of French soldiers, and amid cries of "Long live the Pope! Holy Father, a benediction!" Pius IX. passed the gate, his carriage drawing up by the steps of the Basilica. He descended amid deafening shouts. The Municipal Commission knelt, and Alibrandi read an address. This ceremony ended, the Pope was surrounded by the Diplomatic Corps, decked in their bright uniforms. The simplest dress, prominent also by the absence of all decorations, was that of the United States Minister, Colonel Caff.

The whole company entered the church, where Cardinal Benedetto gave the benediction. That over, the Pope retired to the Sacristy and prepared himself for the official entry. A gala carriage, when opened on the side, exposed him to public view. He wore his red mantle over his white cassock, and a red hat. Two Monsignori sat opposite to him, while, at the right-hand door, rode the French General, and, at the left, the commander of the Noble Guard. The carriages of the cardinals, of the Municipality, and

of the Diplomatic Corps followed. The procession, long and picturesque, recalled a great sixteenth-century pageant. Pius IX., who was in good spirits, and seemed to have grown younger during his exile, was seen to exchange comments and jokes with the two prelates, every now and again raising his hand and graciously blessing the crowd that prostrated itself as he passed, crying, "Long live Pius IX.! Holy Father, bless us!" But the cries became fewer as they proceeded. Their progress was slow; about one hour elapsed before reaching St. Peter's. After receiving the blessing from Cardinal Mattei, the Pope kissed the foot of the Prince of the Apostles, and with quick step entered the Vatican by the interior staircase, no longer disguising his need for repose.

That night all Rome was illuminated, especially the poorer quarters. Fearing disturbances, both police forces, Pontifical and French, had made some arrests. Upon the church façades could be read allegorical epigrams. The following day, and for some time after, there was no church without a three-days' celebration with appropriate *Te Deum*, no academy, seminary or college without its commemoration of the happy return. Three days were also dedicated to funeral services in memory of the French soldiers who had fallen during the siege. The Pontiff ordered that a great *Te Deum* be chanted in the chief church on each anniversary of General Oudinot's entrance into Rome. This was observed until July 3, 1870.

Three days after his return, Pius IX. visited Santa Maria Maggiore, for he was anxious to go out. That morning he received the Diplomatic body in solemn audience, and at three, without any pomp, after halting at the Basilica Liberiana, he proceeded straight to the French Military Hospital. Distributing crosses, crucifixes, and medals to the wounded, he chatted with the wounded about their families, country, and religion. Enthusiastic and much moved, they all cried "Long live the Pope!"

The following day, in the Piazza S. Pietro, the fourteen thousand men of the "liberating" army passed in review before the Pope, who, surrounded by his household, from a balcony erected for the purpose upon the steps of the Basilica, bestowed upon them his Apostolic blessing.

One of Pius IX.'s early visits was paid to the Janiculum, where evidences of the siege could still be seen, and, descending from his carriage near Paul V.'s fountain, he listened to explanations given by the Noble Guards. He demanded to see where the hardest fighting had occurred, and, while still on foot he passed into the Villa Doria, praising the Prince who had erected a memorial chapel to the fallen Frenchmen. He showed, however, more curiosity than emotion. It was whispered that the Pope had visited the Janiculum to rejoice over the success of the assailants, and it was, perhaps, on this account that, the day following, April 30, the first anniversary of the last military good fortune of the

Republic, upon the doors of some churches and the walls of palaces inhabited by unpopular personages, could be read, in red letters, the words: "Priests, the blood of the martyrs cries for vengeance." In spite of every effort, the writers of these words could not be discovered.

The first entertainment after the Papal return was given by Prince Marcantonio Borghese on April 16, 1850, preceded by a musical competition. Many invitations were issued, a great number of officers of the French Staff, seven cardinals, many prelates, and all the Diplomatic Corps were present. The Prince affected ostentatious pleasure. "*Enchanté, enchanté!*" he repeated in his thin, caressing voice, as he greeted ladies, diplomats, French officers, but, above all, cardinals. Dancing commenced after midnight, when their Eminences withdrew. No other festivities occurred until the next season, excepting a ball given in Palazzo Poli, at the instigation of twenty-seven young patricians, who each contributed twelve *scudi*. It was a brilliant and crowded success, General Baraguay with all his Staff and the Diplomatic body being present.

If those invited were young people of little standing, nevertheless, they nearly all were members of Guelph families, wherefore the ball seemed to be inspired by the same sentiment that had moved them to disregard anonymous messages and to take part in the Carnival festivities of the year.

The Roman Princes, who most openly showed

their satisfaction at the Pope's return were Allessandro Torlonia and Marcantonio Borghese. They were the first to re-enter Rome after the arrival of the French, the others returning timidly a few at a time. When the theatrical season of 1850 was inaugurated at the Tordinone, many princely families failed to attend, notwithstanding that the celebrated tenor, Naudin, was advertised to sing. Some pretended that "Poliuto" did not please them, others that "Louisa Miller" bored them, others said that the new system of lighting the theatre *à Carcels* hurt their eyes. The truth was that the patricians did not feel at all safe, and that the little demonstrations in the theatres which, despite police precautions, continued to occur, made them undesirous to go. One evening the Argentine Theatre had to be closed because the first dancer refused to accept a bouquet of flowers offered by the French officers, a circumstance that gave rise to a great uproar and many arrests.

Although the Restoration satisfied the aristocracy, since it guaranteed privileges and order, yet the recollection of the Republic continued to disturb them, and, fearing public reprisals, they did not evince too much enthusiasm for the resumption of the Pontifical government.

The commemorative medals struck rather resulted from the zeal of the few than the spontaneous desire of the many. Pius IX., recollecting how lukewarm was the support given by the patricians during the

stormy period of 1848—49, showed but little enthusiasm concerning the fact. The medal, although the work of Girometti, had no special merit. It bore the Pope's portrait, a very striking likeness, with the words "Pio IX. P.M. A MDCCCL." If the best families contributed towards it, it was simply because they did not know how to refuse. The Duke of Sermoneta, after having delivered himself against the excesses of the Republicans, assumed the position of *frondeur* from the day of the Restoration. Thus, while not sparing the Papal government his bitter sarcasms, he yet remained on good terms with the Pope, who called him familiarly "Don Michele," and with Cardinal Antonelli, in whom, during the last twenty years, the power of the State had become concentrated. Profiting by his position, the astute duke became the principal lay power in Rome during the last twenty years of the Papal *régime*, while prophesying in his letters the inevitable end and criticising existing anomalies. While nominally President of the Junta of the government, after the capitulation of Villa Albano, there passed into his hands all the power of the State.

Other commemorative medals beside that of the patricians were struck to commemorate the Pope's return. The most curious, which were even somewhat ludicrous, were two struck in Naples, one representing King Ferdinand II. and the other his army. It must also be told that the commander of the French troops wished to record Pius IX.'s visit to

the hospital. A medal, too, was struck by the Catholics of France. This last was very beautiful, bearing the rather surprising motto:

In Urbem Reversus Pastor non Ultor."

Pius IX. himself had two medals made, hung from white and yellow ribbons: one for the soldiers of the four armies who took part in the Restoration, the other, bearing on the reverse side the word "*Fidelitati*," for those surviving Pontifical soldiers who remained true to their oath of fealty.

A chaplaincy in the church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, in memory of those soldiers who had fallen "*per liberare Roma dall' anarchia*" (so runs the decree) was endowed by the Pope out of his own revenues.

The first official dinner after the return was given by Cardinal Antonelli, on the evening of May 26, in the Vatican, in honour of the consecration of some Italian and foreign bishops. The new Minister of the French Republic was included in the invitations as well as the new Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Forces. The dinner, at which the Secretary of State surpassed himself in attentions to France and the President-Prince, was sumptuous.

CHAPTER II

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD *RÉGIME* — MACHINATIONS OF THE SECRET SOCIETIES

FROM August 1, 1849, the highest authority in the State, the Triumvirate of Cardinals, assuming the title of "*Commissione governativa di Stato*," had worked with all the ardour of men resolved to obliterate every memory of the past. To confirm their sovereignty they had taken up their residence at the Quirinal, and from thence issued their decrees.

If the new Triumvirate—who went under the name of "Red"—had any inclination towards mildness, Cardinals Vannicelli, Altieri, and Della Genga showed decided reactionary tendencies; Della Genga even revived the rancorous spirit of Leo XII. Their first decree was the unlucky ordinance of August 2, by which all that had been accomplished previous to November 16, 1848, was annulled and a committee of censure appointed to decide upon the fate of the *employés*. The outcome was disastrous, and provoked a storm of hatred and abuse against the restored government.

Power often intoxicates, especially when it is absolute, and the Triumvirate soon lost all sense of proportion. Putting their hand to many things at once, they began with the "*Consulta*," the supreme penal tribunal, and, in consequence, the one which tried political cases. By reducing the Ministers to five, they united the departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Public Works and Fine Arts into one, leaving vacant the office of Minister of Education, which, in its superior branches depended upon the Ministry of the Interior, and in its primary branches upon the parish priests and religious bodies. They organised the Corps of Gendarmerie, and gave orders to burn, in somewhat spectacular fashion, the first bonds issued by the self-appointed Provisional and Republican Governors for 82,215 *scudi*, replacing them by an equal number of Treasury bonds, which the Minister of Finance deposited in the safe of the *Camera Apostolica*. Very curious is the wording of the Report of the burning, commencing:

"In the name of God, so be it,"

and closing with the following words:

"After that, I, Secretary and Chancellor of the R.C.A. took the said bonds of the self-appointed Provisional and Revolutionary Governors to burn, and after they had all been torn to little bits, they were thrown by handfuls into an iron chest, made on purpose, standing on the balcony looking on to the courtyard of the palace, where the fire had been lit,

and were burnt in sight of the people, every one thus seeing that all the said bonds were totally consumed and destroyed by the flames."

The palace where the burning occurred is the seat of the present Senate. This burning was necessary because of the gravity of the situation. Rome and the States were inundated with paper money, issued by the Republic to the sum of nearly seven million *scudi*, with an exchange of more than twenty per cent., as well as another million and a half in the Pontifical Bank. The Minister arranged for their removal from circulation, and replaced them by bonds on the Treasury and certificates of Revenue to be paid off at par in ten years, dating from 1851, to be extracted every six months. In consequence, fifty thousand certificates of one hundred *scudi*, at five per cent. interest, were gradually issued.

The political acts of the Triumvirate of Cardinals and especially the ordinance of August 2, 1849, had provoked, in reply, the letter dated the 18th of the same month, written by the President of the Republic, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, to Colonel Ney, a letter platonic in substance and almost mystic in form, addressed not to the Pope nor to the Secretary of State, nor even to the Chief of the Expeditionary Force, but to a colonel attached to it, and a personal friend of the President. That letter explained the character of the French intervention as consisting in a general amnesty, the secularisation of the administration, the promulgation of the Napoleonic Code, and

the formation of a lay government. Such must be the conditions if temporal power were to be resuscitated with the help of France. As a matter of fact, what happened? To what extent did the restored temporal power meet the wishes of the President of the Republic? Neither amnesty, nor Napoleonic Code, nor the secularisation was granted, only in August, 1849, four lay Ministers, good men, but incapable of assuming command or of taking part in the discussions of the Triumvirate, before whom they felt their insignificance, were appointed: lay Ministers without a shadow of lay influence. The nominations, even the least important, were arranged by the Triumvirate.

The secularisation of the administration could only have been brought about, if the President of the French Republic had imposed it, but not in the form of a mere request recalling too vividly his famous letter of 1831, dated from Terni to Pope Gregory XVI., which closed with the laughable sentence: "The organised forces advancing upon Rome are invincible." The Prince at that time was but twenty-two, poor and unknown, and only the previous year he had been a student at the Roman University, where he left no serious impressions. He was now the head of a powerful nation, and words more conclusive and resolute were expected of him. But these were lacking. We must, however, remember that secularisation was of itself no easy task. If Pius IX. did not feel the same aversion for the laity professed by

Cardinal Rivarola, who remarked that in the States of the Church the laity should be only just "tolerated by the generosity of the clerics," he nevertheless had an invincible animosity towards them, remembering much that had happened to him during the stormy period of 1848, at the hands of his lay Ministers, especially Mamiani, Galletti, and Sermoneta, without mentioning the principal and most influential, Pellegrino Rossi. To secularise the public administration meant reforming everything *ab imis*, and destroying the contention that only ecclesiastics were capable of exercising the highest public functions. Roman laymen, even the most advanced, were not sure that this was possible. The Papal States, through the confusing existence of two governments, enjoyed the advantages of neither, and suffered from the vices innate to the worst lay *régime*. From the Pope, an old man and elected by old men, and, consequently unable to grasp the exigences of social life, further, not a free agent, although an absolute Prince, to the last member of the hierarchy, everyone had come to look upon power as a thing to turn to profitable account, a thing transmissible to unknown persons, without heredity of system, of ideas and still less of affection. The Pope did not bind his successor as a temporal sovereign : his every thought and tendency died with him. Secularisation always met with invincible resistance in the Roman Curia, which feared, and perhaps rightly, that it was but a short step to the abolition of the temporal power.

Pius IX. looked on the President's advice almost in the light of a joke, and, reducing his Ministers to five, he appointed four laymen of unequal social standing. Prince Domenico Orsini felt ill-suited to the office of Minister of War and anything but proud of his three colleagues, business men of modest parentage. His salary he bestowed on the families of old soldiers, and he remained in office a very short while. Giansanti, Minister of Justice, although a layman, wore a priest's frock, and being a Consistorial lawyer, bore the title of Monsignore. Born at Piperno, of a humble baker's family, he had come to Rome to study law. He also held a post in the Customs as collector of accounts of stamps and briefs. Neither did Angelo Galli boast a higher station. His father was a master-mason. He himself was an accountant at the Trinità dei Pelligrini, where he made the acquaintance of Della Genga, afterwards Leo XII., who promised him the post of Accountant-General to the *Camera Apostolica*. A widower and childless, he was obliged by Pius IX. to don the dress of a priest, but, to put aside the temptation of becoming in truth a priest, Galli took to himself a second wife; one result of his marriage, however, being that, in 1855, he was replaced by Ferrari. In the six years of his ministry he reorganised the finances, as far as lay within his power; but he was not free from an accusation of nepotism. He also reorganised the navigation of the Tiber by means of tow-boats, and fixed the time of transit from the

mouth to Ripagrande to seven hours, with settled departures coinciding with the arrival of ships at the river mouth. By this reform he reduced the distance from Rome to Naples to twenty-four hours, and thus augmented the number of travellers who were attracted by the greater economy of time and cost. He also concluded a convention between the Emperor of Austria and the Dukes of Parma and Modena for the free navigation of the Po, by which the old dues and the differential tariffs and transits between State and State were abolished, a single navigation-tax being substituted, fixed not from a fiscal point of view, but with the object of meeting the expenses of surveillance and of improving the boats. His most important work was a copious monograph upon the economical condition of the Pontifical States, preceded by a discourse on Roman agriculture and the means of improving it. This volume is the most conclusive argument as to the poverty of the States of the Church. Camillo Jacobini, who united in himself the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Public Works, and Fine Arts, was descended from a family of vine-cultivators in easy circumstances. He had pursued his studies in the Roman Seminary, and it was thought that he would enter the priesthood, so marked had been his sacerdotal tendencies; but he went into business instead, leasing properties and gaining fame as a capable estate agent and undertaker of public works. Far rom becoming arrogant on his appointment as Minister,

he continued in business and gave proofs of generosity, passing half his salary to charitable enterprises. During his time of office railways were inaugurated, and the first telegraph lines laid. He also encouraged agriculture wherever it was possible, arranging shows, and giving prizes. He was esteemed for his probity and the simplicity of his life. His highest praise is condensed in Pasquino's reply to Marforio's question as to the cause of his death: "Why did he die?" "I fear," replied Pasquino, "he did not eat!" a reference to the Minister's parsimonious habits and high integrity. Jacobini, who died in 1854, was succeeded by a priest, a relative of Pius IX. Secularisation vanished into thin air, even in regard to offices essentially lay; and after the death of Farina the Ministry of War was bestowed upon a foreign priest.

Monsignor Savelli was the only ecclesiastic in the first Restoration Ministry, but he held the most important office—that of the Interior and Police. He was a Corsican, and nicknamed "Bull-dog," on account of his likeness to that canine breed. Though he loved an easy life, yet he was the only Minister of any force. As the police depended upon him, he not seldom found occasion to make his authority felt, as happened in the regulations regarding the Carnival. Reinforcing the prohibitions against public representations and masquerades, he allowed none "except with uncovered faces, neither disguised by false or dyed beards, or any other artifice, by day as well as

by night, and in whatever place, either public or private." And no small scandal was provoked when, disregarding these regulations, which became still more exaggerated through the penances imposed by the Cardinal-Vicar, a man of narrow and unamiable spirit, some French officers, with the permission of General Baraguay, made an attempt to give two masked *veglioni* and to dance the *can-can* with some ballet-dancers. This permission, reports a Guelph chronicler, made manifest certain disadvantages which until then had been unknown in Rome. Baraguay became the butt of the evil tongues of the Sacristies, the Vicariate, and the ante-chambers of the cardinals. But what could they do? He was master, and neither the Triumvirate of Cardinals nor the Ministers dared breathe in his presence. The power of the General of the Expeditionary Forces was paramount in the everyday occurrences of the Pontifical government, and found commendation and encouragement among the lay citizens, who, unable to obtain the civil administration they had been led to hope for by Prince Louis Napoleon and promised by Pius IX., held themselves avenged in the humiliations which the French Commander-in-Chief inflicted upon the hierarchical government. The latter, on its part, saw no reason to place confidence in the head of that nation whose arms had helped towards its restoration. In Louis Bonaparte, held by the Roman Court to be of an uncertain spirit and of visionary tendencies, the remembrance of the old rebel had not been effaced by

his new attitude, and all the acts of the Curia were bent, from the day of his marriage, towards holding the favour of the Empress and her Court, flattering the French and Spanish influences that prevailed there, which were rigidly Catholic, not to say clerical. We shall see in the course of this chronicle how this influence developed, up to the fatal day of September 4, 1870.

When the Pope returned to Rome material order was restored, but moral order still left much to be desired. The French and Pontifical police, in spite of military rule and drumhead shooting, proved unequal to their task, and the Restoration, although greeted with magniloquent addresses by the principal towns of the dominion, had only succeeded in giving to the State a semblance of tranquillity under the shadow of the Austrian army. The Pontifical government desired to impress the world with the idea that order, material and moral, had been re-established in Rome, but facts contradicted its interested optimism.

Scarcely a day passed but, at the roll-call in the French barracks, some names remained unanswered, and later it was discovered that the bearers had fallen into the hands of the violent and fanatical populace, who being influenced neither by the power of the first Republican Committee nor by the fear of being shot down merely on suspicion, had drowned their victims in the waters of the Tiber.

Although the knife was preferred as a means of

disposing of the soldiers, this easier and less incriminating method was sometimes adopted. Soldiers were inveigled into low drinking-booths in the Trastevere at dusk, were intoxicated, and then dropped into the river.

On the last Carnival Sunday of 1850, while the gaiety, artificially provoked by the police, raged in the Corso, a French soldier was killed, and the young son and daughter of Prince Canino were wounded by a bomb enclosed in a bouquet of flowers.

Indeed, attempts at the expense of well-known reactionaries were the order of the day.

One of the most audacious attempts was that on July 19, against the colonel of the Gendarmerie, Nardoni, who, on his way to a little shop kept by an ardent adherent of the Papal party, was assaulted by two armed men. Nardoni defended himself most valiantly. The assassins fled, but one was arrested and condemned to death. The Pope commuted the sentence to penal servitude.

A short period of reassuring calm ensued, but it was soon to be broken. The police rarely succeeded in discovering the real author of these attempts. A large number of suspected or denounced persons were arrested, only to languish for years in prison with their guilt unproved.

It was impossible to keep count of the assassinations which took place, either in Rome or the provinces, after the Restoration. The summary executions carried out by French and Austrians did something

towards establishing order, but disturbances broke out again and again, and murders by order of societies, both in Rome and the States of the Church, ceased only after the fall of the temporal power.

In view of the incompetency of the two police forces, General Baraguay was advised to issue an order couched in the following terms:

"Any person found wearing knives, daggers, stilettos, or any other kind of lethal weapon, shall be instantly shot."

This aroused general indignation, for, as a result, one man was shot down, and, seven days later, another met the same fate for being found with a rapier in his possession. The truth was, that in the lower quarters of the city, there existed such a hatred of the Pontifical government and of its partisans, that none cared even to inquire who was willing, on being asked, to assist in carrying out some assassination. It was sufficient to convince any rough that this or that person was either a spy or a villain for that man's life to be in jeopardy.

Unquestionably the Pontifical government had never been popular in Rome, for it exercised a double tyranny, both political and religious; it availed itself of every device, and supported its favourities by underhand means and female influence; it ruled without justice and meddled in every relation of public and private life, and it had to be admitted that the government, which returned after three years' absence, and was forced upon the people by four armies and

one garrison of occupation, had deteriorated greatly. Many families had lost relations in the war and during the siege. Not a few preferred voluntary exile, while others had left with Garibaldi.

Rome had given a large and precious contribution of her blood to the national cause, it was not possible to exterminate so many memories, so many germs of revenge. To reconcile so many antagonistic or deluded interests, violence was met by violence, and the moral disorder, of which the Red Triumvirate was the chief factor, had as accomplice a large proportion of the people, believers, through old and immutable tradition, in the cult of the knife.

The Pontifical government, from the day of its resurrection until the day of its death, lived in fear and trepidation.

With the return of the Pope, the Triumvirate of Cardinals ceased to exist, and from April 13 onward all power was concentrated in the person of Cardinal Antonelli, to whom, as first and greatest of the Ministers, the others rendered obedience, they being admitted only once a week to audience with the sovereign.

CHAPTER III

RECALL OF BARAGUAY—NEW TAXES

FROM July 3, memorable as the day of the French entry, to August 1, when the Commission of Government was nominated, the city remained under the tutelage of General Oudinot. As he was a man of tact and no little cunning, he made no attempt at ruling, but limited himself to a rigorous protection of public order. He let those leave the city who desired to do so, he placed no obstacle in the way of the decrees of the Triumvirate, in order that the responsibility—nay, more, the odium of the most hateful—should not fall upon him.

Of the three commanders of the Army of Occupation who, since May, 1850, had filled the office of Minister of France in Rome, the only one who left any regrets behind him was Oudinot.

His successor, General Rostoland, an almost illiterate soldier, made himself hated speedily owing to his rough manners, his permanent Council of War, and the numerous executions. Roman wit and Roman feeling against him manifested itself in a squib which met with general applause: "Reste l'âne!"

Recalled after a few months, he was succeeded by General Baraguay d'Helliers, a glorious relic of the Napoleonic wars. Of an impetuous character, tactless, but good-natured at bottom, he looked upon himself as a proconsul in a conquered land. He was particularly disliked by the patricians, who declined to pay him the respect he claimed as his due.

In a government like the Pontifical, which was at the same time theocratic and oligarchic, aristocratic and democratic, always resting on the base of privilege, the Roman Princes of the old Papal families, while apparently Papal vassals, in reality shared the Pontifical power. Baraguay, who understood nothing of this, assumed a patronising air, even towards the nobles and cardinals, the officers of the Army of Occupation following his example. The saying, "*Rome nous appartient*," found, in those days, an insolent application.

The nobility, in true Roman fashion, gave vent to their feelings in sarcasms; gossip pervaded the Sacristies, scandals increased, and the lower classes sharpened their knives.

Cardinal Antonelli, a sceptical but shrewd mind, after his return condensed Pontifical politics in one sentence, "*Tollerare per vivere.*" Without French intervention it would have been impossible either to enter or to remain in Rome, consequently they had to be tolerated. The French availed themselves of this position to seize every pretext to inflict lessons and humiliations.

Baraguay, to mark his disdain and to annoy the ecclesiastical authority, not only gave permission to hold masked balls, but allowed the notorious Father Achilli to escape, the man who, during the Republic, had cast off his Dominican habit, taken a wife, and embraced the Protestant religion. Triumvirate and Vicariate claimed Achilli, and, had they laid hands upon him, they would have hanged him without more ado.

The impulsive Baraguay, who sometimes evoked sympathy owing to the lessons he had inflicted, had quartered his Military Tribunal in the palace of the Ecclesiastical Academy. Despite the protests of Cardinal Patrizi, he stationed his soldiers in the quarters of the Holy Office, and showed no consideration whatever for the aristocracy. His receptions at Palazzo Colonna were miserable affairs, his balls with waiters dressed in jackets, microscopic refreshments, and scanty suppers, aroused universal laughter. As he was unmarried, the wife of the General Commander did the honours. This lady dressed in a costume of most homely "intimacy," as an eyewitness recalls. At a ball given in January, a truly unique event occurred. Towards midnight, while all the company awaited the signal to go to supper, which they imagined as appetising and abounding in good wines, the master of the house, approaching the musicians, cried "Enough!" He then ordered the servants to turn out the lights, intimating to his guests that the entertainment was over. This strange want of courtesy

—not to call it by a stronger name—did not, however, prevent the same guests from attending another of his balls on the evening of Carnival Monday. This time a yet stranger thing happened, for the guests, remembering what had happened before, and resolved to leave before midnight, found two sentries posted at the door to prevent any exit, and a squadron of cavalry stationed in the vast courtyard to hinder carriages from entering; wherefore all were obliged to remain as long as it pleased the host. Half menacing, half joking, he said: "Since you complained at having to leave at midnight, now you must stay till much later."

It was impossible to allow such a man to hold the offices of Commander-in-Chief and Minister for France, wherefore he was recalled.

The Prince-President, thinking it advisable to separate the two functions, appointed Count Alfonso De Rayneval to be Minister, and Gemeau as chief of the Army. Both were men of greater weight than their predecessor, and their *salons* were soon opened for balls and receptions.

De Rayneval, however, was a double-faced man, who, while he made a show of liberalism, was clerical and an atheist, besides being hostile to the Italian "Risorgimento," as was revealed later.

After the fall of the Republic, Garibaldi, with his volunteers had left the city, but the body of the troops, numbering about 8,000 men of different branches, chiefly infantry, who formed the regular and

permanent army, when invited to follow him, refused, and General Oudinot, in the general order of July 14, considered them as allies. The Triumvirate Cardinals, however, did not regard the refusal to follow Garibaldi as a sufficient guarantee of good faith, hence though these soldiers were not disbanded, they were gradually re-enrolled, their chiefs changed, and a complete rearrangement of the grades carried out. At first the Pontifical army was considered as an appendix to the Army of Occupation. Pius IX. held it of small account.

At last, in 1851, after many curious vicissitudes, Colonel Filippo Farina was appointed to the post of Minister of War. He applied himself to the reorganisation of the army, which, not being levied but composed of volunteers, presented all the drawbacks incidental to an army of mercenaries. He conceived the idea of raising a national army, but, as he lacked officers, and the Papal States had no military institution, Farina, in 1855, founded a school for cadets, hoping to attract the younger sons of great families, who, owing to the law of primogeniture, often occupied positions almost humiliating, and certainly false and mean. But these families did not incline to military careers, the young men preferring to enter either the Church or the Papal Court. Considering the changed times, Farina accomplished miracles in the way of military administration, and was much lamented when he died.

In 1851, Monsignor Vincenzio Tizzani, a Lateran

canon, was appointed Chaplain-General to the army. He was also Adviser to the Congregation of the Index, and here he showed himself as very severe against those books which he held to be tainted with heresy. Often, however, the heresy lay only in his imagination. By a mere chance the "Divine Comedy" escaped being put on the Index because Dante had placed three Popes in the Inferno, had maltreated Boniface VIII. and, in the fifth canto of Purgatory, had placed Adrian V. among the avaricious. The "diabolical Comedy," he would say, "should be condemned and burnt." Fortunately, more enlightened ideas prevailed among his colleagues, who, had he persisted in his extraordinary purpose, would have laughed in his face.

The calling in from circulation of all paper money representing seven million of *scudi* besides a million and a half of Pontifical Bank notes, which were compulsory currency, was a matter of supreme State necessity. Wherefore the burning, *coram populo*, of the notes on the loggia of the Palazzo Madama continued up to October 2, 1850; 3,687,600 *scudi* being burnt, for which were substituted Treasury bonds and a new coinage of silver and copper. The Pontifical Bank was treated with more consideration. Its paper was recognised at par, and partly replaced by Treasury bonds, and, in compensation for a loan of 300,000 *scudi*, at the rate of two and a half per cent., accorded to the government, it was allowed to coin annually 400,000 *scudi* in gold and silver. Another three and a half

million, mostly of paper money, remained in circulation, but of this, much reduced in value, the government speedily rid itself by a despotic order that it would remain in circulation until October 18, and after that date would be exchanged up to the 25th only, at the Bank of the "Depositeria," and after would be withdrawn from circulation.

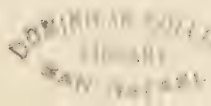
When it is observed that this notice was dated September 26, and that, therefore, all moneys had to be liquidated within a month, the loss, especially to the poorer classes, can easily be imagined. If it was desired to remove all recollections of the "so-called Provisional and Republican government" it certainly also entailed much suffering.

In July, 1850, in consequence of the great discrepancy between the receipts and presumed expenses, augmented by the new public debt, the Secretary of State issued an edict increasing the tax on property, and also an extraordinary tax on the communes of the State to the amount of 1,000,000 *scudi*, divided in proportion to their respective assessments, and under the supervision of the municipal bodies. It was presumed that the edict would only be enforced until 1851, but in February of the following year it was re-enacted, augmenting the tax on property, re-elevating the price of salt to that in force in 1847, imposing a heavy tax of 250,000 *scudi* on the communes, besides one on colonial products, especially on coffee, cocoa, and sugar.

As a natural consequence, smuggling increased to

scandalous proportions, and no satisfactory remedies could be discovered. Nor did the new grievances stop here. On October 14, 1858, another edict was issued by the Secretary of State, according to which all arts, industries, and trades were classified under ten heads, and those engaged in them were taxed in proportion to locality and returns. The particulars are interesting. For example, all those who carried on the same business in different communes or in the same commune, but in separate establishments, factories, warehouses or shops, were taxed for each place as if they were different persons or merchants. The street hawkers were to pay half the tax paid by merchants. Holders of land for the sale of raw produce, live stock and products of land, day-labourers, journeymen, and workmen, captains of merchant vessels not their own, as well as proprietors and lodgers who let furnished rooms in their own houses, also savings banks or charitable institutions carried on gratuitously, were all exempt from payment.

The new grievances, as might have been expected, gave rise to a chorus of protests from all the States, more especially in Rome, against the increase of taxation, which hit the large landholders particularly hard. The ecclesiastical corporations resigned themselves to the inevitable; but it was impossible for the aristocracy to submit, seeing that, from the day of the Pope's flight, their private affairs had suffered much loss owing to their enforced absence from Rome. Life in exile had been more costly, while their revenues



had diminished. Indeed, the outcry was such, especially among professional men, that it was found necessary to lighten the tax under which they groaned by another edict, dated November 29, which exempted all teachers from payment of the tax, and arranged that all those engaged in various professions should be taxed in the lightest possible manner. The registers of taxpayers were drawn up in the chief towns of the provinces by special commissioners, who also decided the claims laid before them. On the whole, this tax, which brought but little into the Treasury, raised a veritable storm in the towns, while the other taxes, and particularly the extraordinary one on communes, produced greater discontent in the smaller communities, where the excesses of the Austrian occupation disturbed public order.

The hard alternative of either reducing their working expenses, already meagre enough, or of imposing new taxes presented itself to these communes. The majority of the municipalities, and the more important, preferred to carry economy to its greatest length rather than to increase taxation, and, especially in matters of charity and hygiene, they reduced expenditure in every possible way.

Discontent, secretly encouraged by the Liberals, increased in proportion as the effects of the new burden became more heavily felt. And yet, it must be admitted, despite all these new additional taxes, the local taxation did not, in all the Papal States, exceed one *scudo* and thirty *baiocchi* (equal to six *lire*

and ninety-eight *centesimi*) for every assessed hundred *scudi*.

A food-tax either did not exist, as in the smaller centres, or else was at its lowest in the towns, and limited to wine, spirits, meat, and fish. Wine, which was taxed the most heavily, paid three *lire* and ten *centesimi* for every hundred and twenty litres; and when, in later years, the tax was increased to four *lire* and twenty-five *centesimi*, fears were entertained of a rising in the thickly populated quarters of Rome. To-day for every hectolitre ten and a half *lire* are paid. No succession duties existed either for parents or children, and in other cases they were very low, not exceeding two per cent. In 1852 the balance-sheet showed a credit of 10,473,129.90, and a debit of 12,336,487.35; and six years later, in 1858, no longer a deficit, but a surplus of 10,149 *scudi*.

The largest receipts came from the land-tax and Customs, and the greatest expenditure was devoted to the expenses of the army, representing more than a tenth of all the credit. A great step had been made, especially as in these years there had been neither famine nor any other extraordinary misfortunes.

In a State where the system of protection was carried to the point of exaggeration, and which, with the exception of Piedmont and Parma, touched the confines of all the States of Italy, smuggling, at all times, was the cancer which devoured the public finances, but in which all, more or less, took part. The class most engaged in it was one of hardy, quarrelsome

fellows called "*Spalloni*" because of their carrying, after dark, sacks of coffee, corn, sugar, or grain, on their shoulders. In the smaller communes inns and taverns overflowed with these gentry. The police either winked at them or, while arresting the less important, allowed the leaders to go unmolested.

The smugglers not only infested the frontier, but also the waterways; even the Tiber, where, under the very nose of the government, on their loaded tartans, they came up the river and anchored at Ripagrande. Side by side with this there flourished a recognised form of smuggling under the guise of exemption from Customs dues. Cardinals, high dignitaries, and every person holding even the humblest government position, not counting ambassadors, consuls, and the superior officers of the Army of Occupation, received goods from abroad without even the formality of a visit. Nor was it difficult to obtain exemption under the form of a "*lascia passare*" for goods by means of a recommendation to the director of Customs. Traders in silk and hardware had a tacit understanding with the heads of the two Custom-houses: the one in Piazza di Pietra, the other that still exists at Ripagrande. Smuggling was a finance within finances, a powerful institution, in which all classes were interested, and which the Pontifical government never succeeded in suppressing or even in limiting.

After providing for the first necessities of government some useful measures were adopted. By an edict of November, 1851, postage stamps were introduced,

their value corresponding to the tax which was already levied on private correspondence, according to weight and distance. The stamps were of eight kinds, of various values and colours, on a yellow ground, bearing the triple crown and crossed keys, with the inscription "*Franco bollo postale*" and their value.

Prepaying letters for the interior was optional, but obligatory for abroad. The regulations also provided for registration.

On January 1, 1852, to the general satisfaction, the stamps were put into circulation, but, owing to some technical defect, and not being under very rigorous supervision, the workmen employed in the printing office appropriated whole sheets of stamps, selling them for their own benefit at half-price. Moreover, the Post Office *employés*, instead of cancelling the stamps, removed them from the envelopes and resold them. It was three years before the Superintendent of the Post Office introduced a cancelling machine.

In October, 1870, the Papal stamps were abolished and those of the Italian government substituted. And here it is only just to remember that the Papal government was the first in Italy to introduce postage stamps.

In a circular dated June, 1851, an attempt was made to provide for the filling up of the roll of army officers on new and sound national principles. This circular, addressed to the civil and military authorities, advised them: "to place before youths who may aspire to a

military career, not only the interest they would feel in it, but the fact that the army should always be kept in a state of high efficiency, so that it may not only be a support to the throne and public order, but also the guardian of property, thus deserving well of both government and people. All the more so, as the army pertains to the head of the Universal Church, His Holiness the Pope, and therefore deserves well of all Christian people, who have no keener wish than that the high Hierarch may reign in peace over the States of the Holy See, conceded to him by Divine Providence for the free exercise of spiritual power. And that the army may fully answer to this call, it is necessary that each individual composing it be fortified with good religious and political principles."

Such were the principal provisions of the government during the first days of the Restoration. But it is impossible not to mention the frequent nominations of mixed lay and clerical commissions charged to study the new governmental provisions. Pius IX., who wished to show that he had at least the economic improvement of his States at heart, appointed one for the encouragement of agricultural products and another to suggest reforms, which should bring about a reduction of current State expenses in order to strike a balance.

The result of all these studies was seen only in the reform of the Papal State Bank, accomplished in 1852, by replenishing it with new capital and enriching it with other privileges as being the State Bank. The

Bank, however, although possessing all the privileges of a State institution, lacked all elements of true vitality, whether because the economic conditions of the provinces were not such as to ensure an honest and prosperous life to an institution which found, in private banks, insuperable competitors in the only fruitful field, that of exchange, or whether because from the first, the administrators acted in an imprudent and irregular manner. Struggling to live, the Bank, for want of business (for the country lacked industries), undertook operations difficult to liquidate, and gave easy credit, especially when, a few years later, the government accorded to its notes a legal currency. It suffered enormous losses, which the inspectors, honest but inexperienced men, could not fully estimate; losses ably covered by fictitious operations and accounts which few could comprehend. But the director of the Bank was the brother of the Secretary of State, and consequently all doubts were easily dissipated, for, men said, "The Bank and the State are one, therefore, no misgiving can be entertained as to the stability of the State Bank."

Thus it came about that, what with expedients and makeshifts, the train was laid for that catastrophe which stands out, in later times, as the blackest in Italian banking and political history, involving many victims, and arousing, for a brief moment, the moral sense of the country.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST CONSISTORY—THE NEW MUNICIPALITY

ON September 30, 1850, took place the first great Consistory, for the creating of cardinals, held by Pius IX. after his return. In the Consistories of 1846, 1847, and 1848, of the fourteen prelates who had attained the purple ten were foreigners. Since the Pope's election, fifteen cardinals had died, among whom was Mezzofanti, celebrated for his knowledge of doctrine. Pius IX. refilled the vacant posts, but elected no Italian capable of filling Mezzofanti's place. Among the foreigners the most illustrious was Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, whose writings and scholarship had given him a world-wide reputation. The aristocratic element had always prevailed among the Italian prelates, and Pius IX., himself a noble by birth, had been elected by a Conclave in which some of the oldest patrician families of Italy were represented. In spite of the changed conditions the Pope continued to desire that none but men of aristocratic descent should sit in the Sacred College. It was only in the Consistory of 1850 that four middle-class Italians were

elevated to the purple. By an edict of 1851, the municipal body or Senate of Rome, consisting of forty-eight Councillors, eight Conservators, and the Senator, was reconstructed. The last-named office, according to the edict, should be held by "a member of one of the richest and most notable Roman families."

The Senator held office for six years, and while half of the Councillors were renewed every three years and their re-election was optional, the Pope choosing them, twenty-four were to be drawn from those nobles whose names were inscribed in the Capitoline book and twenty-four from the people. That the ecclesiastical element should not be wholly absent in a municipal body composed of laymen, one priest was nominated to represent the secular, and another the regular clergy.

Despite the fact that the municipal body was constituted on March 12, the Provisional Commission remained in office until the 31st of that month, continuing to issue "notifications" which gave rise to much public hilarity. One dated March 18 was truly comic. With the idea of guaranteeing the good faith of the provision merchants, it was decreed that all butter made of sheep's milk, to differentiate it from cow's butter, should be coloured differently; but no particular colour being indicated, sheep's milk butter of every shade and colour, yellow, red, green, appeared on the market. Another decree was issued against lost dogs, menacing them with destruction.

On March 3 came a regulation concerning refuse

of which Article 13 gave rise to general laughter, and deserves notice: "The dustmen searching through dust-heaps for objects of their industry may not spread out the refuse with sticks or other instruments, but must use every means to prevent it from scattering, otherwise severe proceedings will be taken against them."

Was it intended that, sticks and other instruments being forbidden, they should make use of their hands?

This police regulation also prohibited the throwing of rubbish out of windows under a penalty of five *scudi*. One hundred and thirty-one dust-bins were erected in the city, with a special scale of charges, which remain to this day. Yet this decree did not prevent Rome from being the dirtiest town in Italy, after Naples.

The delay in constituting the municipality, it was said, was due to the desire of Cardinal Antonelli, that he and his brothers should be granted the honour of citizenship and Roman nobility, which, he rightly thought, could be more easily obtained from the Provisional Commission. Though such citizenship had lost much of its prestige, it was ardently desired by the middle-class vanity of the Antonelli.

It will help us to understand the organisation of the municipal body if we add the names now in use: the *Senatore* was the *Syndic* of to-day; the *Conservatori*, the *assessors;* and the *Consigliere*, as to-day, represented the deliberative power. But what a vast and

absolute difference between the powers of yesterday and those of to-day!

The power of the Roman Senate of that day was limited to the enacting of regulations concerning the hygienic and elementary necessities of a city's life. It represented the tradition of a lay "*Urbs*," but only in words, for every shadow of power was wanting, owing to the lack of requisites necessary for an autonomous existence.

What, indeed, was the value of the pomp and the environment of the historic *Sala dei Conservatori*, the museums, the great memories of the Arx and the dilapidated ruins, the statue of Marcus Aurelius, and the trashy spectacular shows manifested on solemn occasions? What was the value of an imposing appearance, which no magistrature, not even that of England, had ever surpassed, when every organisation and manifestation of real life was wanting? There were no State registers, in whose place figured the parochial books, and the so-called "*Tavole dell' alma città*," published by the reverend *Camera Apostolica*; no statistics, no census, not even minutes of the rare meetings of the Council, which sat, always in secret, between the hours of 10—12 in the morning; no officers to carry out the regulations, a duty performed by the police. Elementary education was partly provided for by certain religious bodies; while some unimportant public works were carried out by the government.

On the commemorative tablets recording the works

executed entirely by the government might be read, in characters a cubit high and placed in prominent positions, the name of the Pope with the time-honoured ablative: "Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo." At the foot, in small letters difficult to read, were recorded the names of the *Senatore* and *Conservatori*. Sometimes they were simply omitted.

The most important work completed during that period was the rearrangement of the steep incline of Monte Cavallo, a road inaccessible to carriages, but which, thanks to the architectural genius of Virginio Vespignani, is one of the most remarkable civic works of modern times.

The inscription, let into the left wall, which opens with the customary allusion, tells how without State help the work could not have been accomplished. Pius IX. was keenly desirous of seeing his own name and coat-of-arms in every place.

The municipal taxes, which were light, included those on water, roads, sewers, suburban vineyards and orchards, the slaughter of animals, ice, and horses. No other taxes could be imposed without the consent of the Cardinal-President of the Roman district. But though there was a tax on horses, it really only affected horses kept for pleasure, since all Ministers, head herdsmen, chief huntsmen, stud-keepers, and even farm labourers were exempt. Yet even so, through some flaw in the levying of the tax, as well as from the fact that it touched one exclusive class, even in a city so well provided with

horses and carriages as Rome, the impost brought in only 12,000 *scudi*, and sometimes even less.

The appropriation of the moneys also offers a striking contrast to the present system. The greater part came under the heading of charities, of rent and expenses of lodging. In fact the municipality was nothing more than a charitable institution which spent a third of its revenues, about three and a half millions, in this way. It was charged also with strange burdens such as two thousand and more *scudi* for supplying chalices and tapers to certain churches. Comparing the balance-sheet with that of to-day, the vast difference between the municipal life of then and now is seen at a glance. The duties upon food furnish 14,000,000 *lire* and fall most heavily on all alimentary stuffs, excepting only vegetables and fresh fruit, in consequence of which Rome has become the most expensive city in Italy, indeed one of the most expensive in Europe. The heavy burdens of charity, it is true, have passed into the hands of charitable corporations, but there stil remains in the budget as the relic of a bygone time 16,000 *lire* which are paid annually as an exemption to the parents of large families. The whole balance-sheet which amounted to three millions and a half *lire* has now risen to the sum of thirty-four millions.

No city, within so short a space of time and in every aspect of its economic life, has undergone such transformation as has Rome. It is more by an

effort of the imagination than of memory that the old times can be reconstructed. Who can recall what were the limits of Monti, Trastevere, Santa Maria in Campitelli, Filippini, Governo Vecchio; what the Ghetto looked like with its neighbouring Piazza Montanara, extending to the Cerchi, as well as that irregular and characteristic quarter of almost mediæval barbarity, clinging to the sides of the Campidoglio, stretching as far as Piazza Venezia, and now almost entirely destroyed by the monument to Victor Emmanuel! The city might have been likened to a collection of country towns, clustering round the base of the historic hills, encircled by classic ruins, pagan or Christian, and the great monuments of the Renaissance.

A sum of 28,000 *scudi* was spent upon the lighting of the city, which was illuminated by a few scattered oil-lamps, making the tortuous and solitary streets a danger by night. Some lamps hanging before the sacred shrines added their feeble rays. This obscurity was a great encouragement to crime and made discovery almost impossible. The French Commander, however, insisted that the city should be lighted by gas. This order the municipality carried out, but somewhat tardily, with the help of an English company. The first installation was limited to the street called Papale, the Piazzas del Gesū and Venezia and the Corso. The work was carried on with all speed, and at the end of December, 1853, the first lamps were lighted. Extra precautions were

taken on the evening of the inauguration on the supposition that the Pope might attend. Although the weather was cold, the Romans enjoyed the luminous spectacle till a late hour. Soon a new regulation was made, for all-night lighting when the nights were moonless, for partial lighting when the moon was hidden and the night calm; and provision was also made for nights, when the moon was hidden by fog or clouds. Nevertheless, the city continued to be dark, and even now the lighting of Rome does not come up to modern requirements. It shows how modest were the former demands that, although the darkness could almost be felt, no protests were raised by the inhabitants.

The city was divided into fourteen wards and four regions, with a president, drawn from some noble family, for each region. The office was an absolute sinecure, the presidents only putting in a listless appearance for a few hours during the day to take proceedings about small offences, and, except for some political complications, it was held for life. The presidents were required also to act as justices of the peace, and to keep an eye on the demands for passports; those for the interior being granted by Monsignor the Governor, and those for abroad by the Secretary of State. Many tedious formalities had to be gone through before obtaining a passport, the consent of the parish priest being also required. It was this last formality which generally decided the granting or the withholding, little, if any, attention

being paid to the information supplied by the regional officials.

The Grand Duke of Oldenburg was the first sovereign to visit Rome after the Restoration. In April Princess Amelia of Saxony arrived, and in May the young Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael of Russia, nephews of the Czar, Alexander II. Under the title of Count Auguste there had also come King Louis Maximilian of Bavaria. He at once called on the Pontiff, who returned his visit. The King took part in all the great religious and mundane attractions of Rome. Among others he assisted at the *Miserere*, and all the functions of Holy Week, the Easter benediction, the illumination of the Cupola, that of the Pincio, and the new festival by which the zealots desired to celebrate with a *Te Deum*, April 12, 1851, the first anniversary of the Papal return. On the evening of August 22, 1851, without public ceremony or previous notice, almost mysteriously, in the presence of but a few spectators, the touching cenotaph erected by Pius IX. to the memory of Pellegrino Rossi, was unveiled in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, within a few yards of the spot where the unfortunate Minister fell. The cenotaph, simple, yet full of sentiment, stands in the right aisle of the church. The bust, an admirable likeness, was the work of Tenerani, friend and fellow citizen of Rossi. The upper part bears the following inscription: "*Optimam causam mihi tuendam assumpsi miserebitur Deus*"; and below: "*Quieti et cineribus Peregrini*

Rossi, Com. domo Carraria, qui ab internis negotiis Pii IX. P.M. impiorum consilio meditata caede occubuit—XVII. Kal. dec. MDCCCXLVIII.—æt. ann. LXI. M. IV. D. XII." The public mind was in those days strongly agitated with a desire to bring to justice the murderer and his accomplices, a task which, truth compels us to acknowledge, was only taken in hand after the Restoration. During the few days of his stormy reign the governor of the Republic had made no attempt to discover the authors of that tragic act, although no veil of mystery enveloped it. Indeed, there were not wanting those who boasted of having taken part in the bloody deed. In 1853 the case was concluded, with a death sentence for the two accomplices, the principal actor having been shot, together with his father, by the Austrians.

The year 1851 was memorable for the great influx of strangers into Rome and the extraordinary meteorological phenomena which took place. The functions of Holy Week had been re-established, as well as the lighting of the popular girandole. The winter had been severe, and on July 28 an alarming solar eclipse took place. In addition to the eclipse frequent meteors made their appearance, also an aurora borealis, and during the day of September 19 the atmospheric disturbances were most extraordinary. From morning until night a succession of storms burst over the city, the sky becoming totally dark, so that lights had to be lit, and rain fell in torrents, alternating with appalling flashes of lightning. November

was an unusually wet month, so much so that the lower parts of the town and the country were inundated, causing much damage.

The year closed with a touching innovation. In the place of New Year visits a gift of thirty *baiocchi* was presented by every individual of all classes in support of the Refuge for Infants. Only three of these institutions, for the use of boys only, existed, and were called Christian, in order to exclude Jewish children. This new method of increasing the number of these useful refuges was placed before the public, who responded heartily. The little contributions poured in from rich and poor, clergy and laity, Christians and Jews, and brought in in the first year little less than one million *lire*.

CHAPTER V

REVIVAL OF COSMOPOLITAN LIFE

THE year 1852 witnessed some remarkable occurrences.

On July 3, the King and Queen of Naples, accompanied by some of their children and a small suite, visited the Pope at Castelgandolfo. Embarking at Gaeta the royal party landed at Porto d'Anzio, where they were met by Cardinal Antonelli. During their two days' sojourn they made several excursions in the neighbourhood, His Holiness and the King occupying the same carriage, the carriages containing the Queen and other guests following. The Pope and Ferdinand II., little thinking it was the last time they should meet, took a cordial and affectionate leave, the King decorating various members of the Papal Court. In the same month an act of pious courtesy was performed. It is needful to state that in February, 1836, the bells of the Campidoglio tolled the death of Madame Letizia Bonaparte, mother of Napoleon I., who, totally blind in her last years, passed painlessly away at the ripe age of eighty-six. Thorwaldsen, chancing to pass through Rome, took her death-mask. The government

ordered that the funeral ceremony should be extremely simple, and forbade the imperial hatchment to hang over the church door of S. Maria in Via Lata. But they could not prevent the arms from being placed upon the pall, surmounted by an eagle, with the letters "L. R. B." (Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte) and this short but eloquent epitaph:

"Mater Napoleonis."

Three days later, when all Rome was crowding to St. Peter's to celebrate the anniversary of Gregory XVI.'s coronation, a modest funeral car, followed by a few faithful friends and some beggars, issued in silence from the Palazzo Rinuccini, passing along the Corso to S. Maria in Via Lata. Here the remains were consigned to the care of the parish priest, to hold them for Cardinal Fesch, the brother of the deceased. The cardinal directed that his sister's remains be conveyed to their last resting-place, the church of the "Dame della Passione" at Corneto, during the night of July 4—5. Three years later, the cardinal dying in Rome, at the age of sixty-eight, was buried in the same place. Why Corneto came to be chosen no one knows. The town of Ajaccio, to which Madame Bonaparte had bequeathed her heart, begged that her remains and those of her brother might be assigned to them.

This request, supported by Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic and grandson of the deceased, was immediately granted by the Pope. A deputation

from Ajaccio, headed by the mayor, landed at Civita Vecchia, and proceeded to Corneto to take possession of the bodies. General Gemeau, accompanied by a few officers, and the only granddaughter of the deceased, Letizia Bonaparte, widow of Wyse, living in her villa at Viterbo, took part in the mournful ceremony.

Nor was this the only Napoleonic event of the year. On December 20, 1851, by a plebiscite ratifying the *Coup d'État* of the 2nd, Louis Napoleon was elected as decennial President and authorised to draft a new Constitution. He announced the fact to the Pope by an autograph letter, and on January 8, 1852, in the church of S. Luigi de' Francesi, a special *Te Deum* of thanksgiving was sung. It was a modest ceremony as compared to that which took place exactly eleven months later in the same church in honour of the restoration of the Empire. On this occasion De Rayneval, with all the Embassy staff, Gemeau, with Generals Cotte and Bruent, and all the connections and friends of the house of Bonaparte residing in Rome, besides many other French people, took part. After Mass the soldiers were assembled in Piazza Colonna to hear the orders of the day that announced the auspicious event, and afterwards they marched to the cry of "Long live the Emperor! Hurrah for Napoleon III.!

That evening all the dwellings of the Bonaparte family, the French Embassy and the General's quarters were lavishly illuminated, and the following evening a State dinner of sixty-eight covers was given

by De Rayneval to the most notable Roman personages, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, in the great gallery of the Palazzo Colonna, at which there were many toasts and much drinking of champagne.

On November 8, 1852, Monsignor Rufini, director-general of police, died. He was succeeded by Monsignor Antonio Matteucci, a prelate, but not a priest, a vigorous man of liberal views, considering the times and his official position. His first regulation provoked much amusement, for it prohibited *encores* in all public performances unless these were specially authorised by the authorities present in the theatre. Hissing and any noisy demonstrations of disapproval were also forbidden, and he obliged the management to issue a curious order to the stage police to restrict the number of persons frequenting the stage or visiting behind the scenes, thereby hindering the exits and entrances of the actors, as well as of the special officer detailed for duty in the theatres. After the first outcry had subsided demands for *encores*, hissing, and visits behind the scenes recommenced.

Monsignor Matteucci held office for several years, and won fame rather by his connection with the much-talked-of Nina of Junoesque proportions, who became famous under the name of Nini di Matteucci, than through any of his extravagances as head of the police.

The wife of a humble farmer, Nina covered herself with jewels, had a box at the *Tordinone*, showed off her rich costumes at the Sunday parades and had all

the vulgarity of her class. She died, a prey to religious scruples, in 1870, having spent long hours every morning in prayer in the church of the Chiesa Nuova, and bequeathed all her possessions to charity. In 1866, Monsignor Matteucci was elevated to the position of cardinal, but died two weeks later, not without some suspicion of poison.

In May, 1853, died, two years after his return, Father Giovanni Roothaan, general of the Society of Jesus. For twenty years he had ruled strongly and uprightly, as even the ill-disposed were obliged to acknowledge. During the stormy days of 1848 he advised his flock to be quiet and patient, he even exhorted them to obey the established government, though it were that of the Revolutionists, with the result that the fathers, driven from their monasteries, could take refuge in whatever country they liked. Thus Father Secchi proceeded to the United States, and Father Del Vico also went abroad, carrying off with him the lens belonging to the large telescope of the Roman Observatory. When Mattia Montecchi, remembering the existence of this fine instrument, sent a request for it during the siege to the Roman College, in order to observe the French encampment, nothing could be found of it but one useless cylinder.

Roothaan enjoyed the entire confidence of King Charles Felix of Sardinia, and when, in 1832, under his most orthodox patronage, the College of the Provinces was reopened, His Majesty desired that

no other but Father Roothaan should be director of the institution. So skilfully did Roothaan influence the aristocracy and Court at Turin that neither the King nor the Prince of Carignano, Charles Albert, took a step without his advice; and when, a few years later, he became general, it was in Piedmont, and above all, among the aristocracy and at Court, that he exercised his greatest influence.

It was also due to his tact that, in 1848, when the wave of revolutionary feeling was fanned by the cries of "Down with the Jesuits!" the losses suffered by the society in Italy and abroad were relatively slight, and if in spite of everything, the fathers were re-established in their houses and regained much of their old influence, excepting, perhaps, in the kingdom of Naples, it was owing to the prudence of the general and the blind reaction which, except in Piedmont, swept over the Peninsula.

Father Roothaan's corpse was publicly exposed in his cell at Sant' Ignazio and received the honour of a solemn burial at the Gesù, all the Jesuit and Dominican fathers resident in Rome taking part. The aristocracy attended in large numbers, also many cardinals and prelates. In July Father Peter Beck was elected general, a Dutchman thus succeeding a Fleming.

On November 5, 1853, with the customary Mass of the Holy Spirit, the University was reopened, and an address read by Father Ricca, professor of Scripture. But few students inscribed themselves during

the first years, the youth of the provinces, and especially those of Romagna, being forbidden, under various pretexts, from studying in Rome. It was only in 1857 that the *Sapienza* regained favour to the extent that from 1859—61 it numbered about a thousand students, and consequently soon became a source of much perplexity to the police.

In the winter of 1853 the international life of Rome was revived in all its splendour. All the educational institutions, including the philosophical and theological chairs at the Roman College, were reopened. The Congregation of the Index also published its list of prohibited books. Among these were the "Operette morali," by Leopardi, *donec emendentur;* "Lettere filosofiche" of the Marchesa Marianna Florenzi-Waddington of Perugia, who *laudabiliter se subiecit;* "Roma e il mondo moderno," by Tommaseo; "Filosofie delle scuole italiane," by Ausonio Franchi; "La Bibbia in versi," by Giuseppe Regaldi; and "Studi Storici sul passato," by Filippo de Boni.

The Congregation had already vetoed other works by Mamiani, who since 1848 had fallen into the bad graces of Pius IX. The Academies flourished once more, and Arcadia boasted of an inspired poetess in the person of the young Elena dei Conti Guoli. Father Niccola Borelli, of Foggia, attained fame through his prose and verse. The Pontifical Academy of Archæology, under the presidency of Prince Pietro Odescalchi, nominated Frederick William, King of

Prussia, known as a patron of art and connoisseur of antiquities, as honorary member, receiving a flattering letter of thanks in reply. From all parts of the world, Princes, famous personages, artists and students, flocked to Rome; Church ceremonies alternated with balls, hunts, and fashionable receptions, the nobility rivalling the Church in the magnificence of their functions; and once more the splendid old palaces were hospitably opened and balls given by the Doria, Massimo, Borghese and Lancellotti, followed by one given by Prince Alessandro Torlonia, on March 3, in the great palace built by Bramante at Borgonuova, which outshone them all. The banker Torlonia, who desired to please his clients, issued thirteen hundred invitations, including diplomats, cardinals, French generals, and all visitors of note. The noble and gracious bearing of his wife, Donna Teresa Colonna, was enhanced by the magnificence of her jewels. At eighteen she had married Prince Torlonia, a man of forty, who said of her, "She is a statue, and I must make her a golden pedestal." The match proved unfortunate for the Princess, who, after losing her reason and enduring much suffering, died at the age of fifty-two. After her death Bramante's palace remained closed, and Torlonia even let a portion of it to diplomats and cardinals. At his own death he was living like a hermit, on the top floor. The night of his great ball was memorable. The best artists of the "Apollo" were engaged to sing, and the *cotillon* only ended at seven in the morning. At midnight all

the cardinals retired with the exception of Antonelli and Ugolini, Cardinal-Deacon, a very worldly man. Entertainment followed entertainment, and it was arranged that the chief receptions should not clash. Thus, Sunday was the day selected by the Borghese; Monday, Doria and Salviati; Tuesday, Bargagli and Aldobrandini; Wednesday, Lancellotti; Thursday, Del Drago; Friday, Pallavicini; and Saturday, Rospigliosi. Besides this there were the balls and receptions given by strangers. A striking contrast between the parsimonious habits of the Tuscan and the sumptuousness of the Roman families was observed at Palazzo Firenze.

Carnival brought the dinners and balls of the Diplomatic Corps. On New Year's Day, 1852, Cardinal Altieri held a splendid reception, only the absence of ladies dimmed its glory. Although the season proper began in November, by October many well-known foreigners had engaged the fine apartments that were to let in almost every historic palace. The American sculptor, Story, resided in the Barberini Palace with his daughter, who afterwards married Simone Peruzzi. Apartments in the Palazzi Chigi, Ruspoli, Albani, Mattei, Santacroce, Colonna, and Doria were always let either to foreigners or diplomats, from November until June, and those streets and places formed what was known as the strangers' quarters. Foreigners, during the first part of their visit, set about making acquaintance with Rome and using their letters of introduction.

Torlonia was, as a rule, their banker, and Diomede Pantaleone and Carlo Maggiorani were the English and French doctors respectively. Great religious ceremonies preceded the Carnival, especially the High Mass on Christmas Day in St. Peter's, where the special tribunes rarely held less than two or three royal Princes. The Altar of the Confessional for that occasion was adorned with Benvenuto Cellini's candelabras and crucifix. The splendid costumes of the Pontifical Court, the mystic notes of Palestrina's music, the Mass of Pope Marcellus, the silver trumpets re-echoing through the arcades of the cupola never failed to produce a wonderful effect upon all strangers of whatever denomination. There were always on these occasions some converts to Roman Catholicism though the frequent recurrence of these events caused the Romans, who were anything but idealists, to assert that it was always the same Protestant or Jew who, for the sum of five *scudi*, lent himself to the part.

After the religious festivals of Christmas and New Year came the Carnival. To the sound of the great bells of the Campidoglio, the *Corso* was inaugurated by the Governor of Rome with four gala carriages, followed by the Senate in six carriages, in each of which sat a Senator with eight *Conservatori* clad in festival robes and accompanied by pages and servants in costume. The same ceremonies were repeated on *Giovedi Grasso* and Shrove Tuesday, and continued under official patronage until 1870.

Nevertheless, it was the concourse of foreigners that animated those Carnivals which followed the fall of the Republic until 1859. Otherwise they would have rather seemed funeral processions, since the people gradually ceased to take any part. It was in 1859 that the Carnival regained some of its pristine gaiety, thanks to a series of political, artistic, and fashionable events ; but the revival lasted only for that one year, although the race of the unharnessed ponies (*dei barberi*) and the pageant of the *moccoletti*, which were its leading features, were never omitted. In the pages of Goethe and that of many lesser writers, Italian and foreign, the Roman Carnival survives. It was certainly *sui generis*, but it must not be forgotten that the Corso, with its balconies, its little terraces and little shops extending as far as Piazza Venezia, was admirably adapted to assist the show; nor must we forget that in these *corsi* the people evinced their native good breeding, besides being kept within bounds by the police, and that there was no hustling of strangers and of the upper class as was seen after 1870, making it a municipal necessity to abolish the time-honoured feast.

In those days, to obtain admission into the Corso, a two-horse car or carriage was obligatory. In the evening, at the sound of the second gun, all vehicles were obliged to withdraw to make room for the *Barberi*. A squadron of dragoons proceeded at half-trot from Piazza del Popolo to Piazza Venezia, where, on a balcony, the Senator sat enthroned. The

officer asked his formal permission to allow the *Corso dei Barberi* to be run, and this obtained he returned, with his troopers, at full gallop to Piazza del Popolo, giving the order to the *mossieri* to let loose the horses.

Half picturesque, half barbaric, and accompanied by the shouts of thousands crowding the road, the terraces, and the stands, it was a spectacle that many will remember. Such an exhibition, now that the ancient Corso, with the exception of that part between Piazza del Popolo and Piazza San Carlo, has disappeared, would to-day be absolutely impossible. The balconies of the Palazzo de Lozzano, now the Albergo di Roma, were generally occupied by foreign Princes, while shops were changed into stands, and both shops and balconies brought in a revenue of thousands of *scudi* to their owners. As has already been mentioned, the balls of the aristocracy occupied the evenings, a free evening being obtained with such difficulty that the Portuguese Ambassador had almost to go begging to find one on which to give his official ball. Some years later, Hooker, the banker, who lived in the Palazzo Bonaparte, being unable to obtain one, was reduced to giving an afternoon ball. On Shrove Tuesday there were no balls, but *veglione* and suppers took their place, those given by the Borghese, Doria, and Rospigliosi ranking among the finest. On Shrove Tuesday, 1859, Prince Borghese invited no less than two hundred persons to supper, dividing the guests into four tables of fifty

covers, between which was reared a huge bouquet of flowers. To each guest was given a small bunch of flowers with the indication of the place he was to occupy. It is hardly necessary to say that on such occasions all the family treasures were on view, including the famous silver-gilt service presented by Napoleon I. to his sister Pauline, the china of Paul V., and the glass of Scipione Borghese.

Once Lent began all was changed, the decrees of the Cardinal-Vicar posted at the street corners prohibited the selling of flesh-food by keepers of hostels, inns, hotels, coffee-taverns, wine-sellers, and pastry-cooks, except to those who possessed the regular dispensations, and even these were obliged to eat their uncanonical meals in private rooms in order to avoid scandalising observers. Hence in most coffee-houses and taverns a dividing curtain was hung up for the convenience of those who were permitted to break their fast. All theatres were closed until after Easter, the chief amusements being the hunts on Mondays and Thursdays and the promenades in the grounds of the suburban villas twice a week. Drawing-rooms were open, but not for balls or large banquets. On Sundays, between nine and eleven in the evening, Borghese held their receptions, but more tonsures than white ties were seen. During spring, on Fridays, Prince Doria received in the gardens of the Villa Pandolfini, and Princess Sciarra in her villa on the Janiculum. After the sixth day of Lent discussions raged hotly

concerning the eloquence of the respective Lenten preachers. The need for diversion rather than for penance or prayer attracted many fashionable ladies and young gentlemen to the churches, ceremonies, stations of the Via Crucis, or the *Miserere* in Holy Week in the basilicas. Another pious custom was the visits to the Seven Churches, affording an opportunity of spending a pleasant day in the country and of visiting the Catacombs. The Catechism was recited in the parish churches during one whole week, and during the two hours that the service lasted all taverns and coffee-houses were required to close their doors. The church patronised by the ladies of the aristocracy was the Caravita, the Noble Guard, in full uniform, attended the Madonna del Carmine and the Tre Cannelle; S. Luca was favoured by the art students and those of the Collegio Romano. Professors of the University crowded to the Apollinare; prelates to S. Giovanni e Paolo, and priests to other monasteries. The non-Catholic visitors, bored by this mode of life, visited Tivoli, Ostia, the Castelli, or even went as far as Naples, returning, however, for Holy Week.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARISTOCRACY

THE aristocracy, who had suffered under the disturbances of the past three years and who, after the assassination of Rossi and the flight of the Pope, had been largely forced into exile, now resumed its wonted life. Those Princes who had taken part in the governments of 1847—48, were unmolested. It would seem, as far as the patricians were concerned, as if that history, dating from the amnesty of Pius IX. to the fall of the Republic, had been wiped out. As a result of the new taxation and the disorders consequent upon the two years of revolutionary rule, it had become essential for the patricians to adjust their budgets to the tyrannical demands imposed upon princely houses by class prejudice. The properties of the nobles, tied up by entail, disordered by want of capital, by charges of every description, and administered by a large number of agents whose duties were not clearly defined, and who were even unknown to their employers, were yet more hampered by the customary methods of administration. What with elder sons, stewards, superintendents, architects, estate agents, bailiffs,

accountants, and lawyers, little was left over for the owner. Instead of fixing his own expenditure and controlling his budget, he generally found it already arranged, and adding to this the dislike, peculiar to his class, of occupying himself with money matters, or anything involving study or trouble, the proprietor ended, as a rule, by becoming the dependant of his agent, remaining in perfect ignorance of the real state of his fortune. If his property melted away he was always certain to recover it by some rich, foreign alliance, or by exercising strict economy. It was no rare thing for fortunes which had been wasted to be reconstituted by a rich dowry; indeed, so universally accepted was this means of readjusting properties that the *jus redimendi* was almost always inserted in the contracts of forced sales.

Once or twice a month "audiences," that is to say, meetings of the heads of departments, in the presence of the Prince were held to talk over the principal needs of the property, such as the letting of houses or lands —the restoration of buildings or the erecting of new ones—harvests, accounts, returns or disputes, about which the proprietor understood nothing while pretending to do so. He would sit in his particular chair, listening while his dependants talked about distant properties which he had never seen, or leases concluded or renewed while he was travelling or otherwise amusing himself. If he asked for explanations, he was presented with two or three huge volumes of registers, bound in ancient style, with metal clasps and nails

bearing the family arms on their back. At the slightest sign of fatigue on his part, abridged statements and summaries of the chief points in question were placed before him, and in the end the Prince remained as much in the dark as ever, while supposed to be acquainted with every detail. It was the proper thing to have a large accountant's office, filled with clerks and ledgers. Only the most hardworking of the nobles frequented their offices, the majority were bored by any approach to business, and the meetings were generally graced by the presence of the Pro-prince. Although under this truly patriarchal system any suggestion of peculation was at once ruled out of court, the abuses that existed were legion and enriched the agents, who lived in ease and comfort, especially when the estate was far distant from Rome. The means of communication were far other than they are to-day, for then a journey to Melfi, where the Doria owned large properties, or to Gravina, where the Orsini's land stretched far out of sight, was an affair of several weeks, and not devoid of peril and discomfort. It was quite an event, when, escorted by his household retainers, the Pro-prince embarked on such a journey every five or six years, whence he would return, whether because of his dislike to the break in his Roman life, or because of his absolute ignorance of things agricultural, with no more profit than that of large gifts and much homage.

Owing to increased requirements and the new taxation, properties, almost all entailed, no longer

afforded the same opportunities for an easy budget, a state of things that was further enhanced by the extraordinary augmentation of taxation after 1870, and the extinction of the old system of Customs Although the government endeavoured to maintain an economic equilibrium in the great families by granting ecclesiastical benefices and positions to younger sons, not a few of these, lacking a purpose in life, either for themselves or for their country, simply lived upon their elder brothers. Unlike the younger sons of the great English families, these Roman young men detested the career of arms, preferring to enter the Church, after learning to know the world and all its follies. Needless to add, these younger brothers were looked upon by the eldest as so many leeches, while, in spite of an outward semblance of respect and obedience, he regarded them as usurpers.

In such an administrative environment it is not difficult to guess at the moral atmosphere. Accustomed to recognise no obstacle, to brook no advice contrary to their desires, surrounded by flatterers and sycophants from their earliest years, and taught to consider themselves different from other men, educated by private tutors, descendants of Popes and cardinals, related to reigning houses, equals of Kings, admitted to unquestioned privileges, what wonder that the Roman aristocracy should adopt overbearing manners, or that they flaunted an almost invincible dislike to any intercourse with those whom they considered beneath them, and who, at the same time, were the

only people who, according to them, should obey the laws? The mind of their clerical tutors seemed to be generally reflected in that of members of the Roman aristocracy, wrapped in prejudices of every kind. For that reason also, it was impossible for them to accept those political changes which collided with their traditions and customs, or to recognise the existence of other hierarchies wherein they held second or third rank. Hence the extraordinary inconsistencies which inclined some towards the Republic, some towards Socialism, some to prefer the Papal Court to that of a lay King, others to resign high positions at Court rather than be obliged to stand behind their sovereign or follow after him like a lackey. After 1870, some even went to the length of omitting to invite the Ministers of the other party to their balls; and the Duke of Sermoneta, after changing from right to left in politics and finally giving up both, retired into private life, a bitter depreciator of the new order which the authority of his name had helped to accredit before the world. President of the Junta government, instituted by General Cadorna, it was the Duke who bore the plebiscite of the Romans to Victor Emmanuel. He was the most cultured and most authoritative of the aristocracy. His house had given two Popes to the Church, one of whom was that Boniface, condemned and immortalised by Dante, besides cardinals, captains, and soldiers of fortune. A Caetani had fought at Lepanto with Marcantonio Colonna, his brother-in-law. Tradition asserted

that the family antedated A.D. 1000. The *salon* of Sermoneta at this epoch was the gayest and the most hospitable of the city, and no stranger, however modest his pretensions, felt that he had seen Rome, unless he had paid his respects in the house of Caetani. There art, letters, and even politics were discussed with brilliancy, and two things only were not tolerated—vulgarity and stupidity. From his father, the Duke inherited a love of letters and fine arts; from his maternal grandfather, a cult for Dante. His father had gathered round him men of letters and artists, and had set apart Friday for the reception of bores, wittily remarking that on that day it was possible to walk freely about Rome. His son, Michelangelo Caetani was married three times. His first wife, Countess Callista Rzewuska, a woman of superior intelligence, a fine musician and superb chess-player, connected with a rich Polish family, died after two years of married life, leaving two children, Ersilia and Onorato. The Duke found consolation in superintending his children's education and in the management of his property. He had studied sculpture under Tenerani, knew the "Divine Comedy" by heart, and was an original commentator. A chair of Dante has of late years been founded to his memory at Orsanmichele in Florence. Besides his own language, he had perfect mastery of French, English, Latin, and Greek. During the twelve years of his first widowhood, his *salons*, which reflected the cosmopolitan character of the city, remained closed; but in 1854, on his marriage

with Miss Margaret Knight, whose family had resided in Rome for reasons of health since 1848, they were reopened. To this lady the Duke addressed some interesting letters from Florence, commencing in August, 1848—letters which give a faithful picture of the Italian life of that day, described by him as a "political Carnival."

The spectacle of the moral disorder of that year provoked some characteristic remarks, and in his pages can be read a scornful, but exact, diagnosis of the state of affairs. "All the worst people," he writes to her who was to become his second wife, "seek to enter the Ministry. . . . The ignorance of Italians in things political is beyond belief. . . . All do their best to put impediments in the way of justice. Liberty, for the ignorant people, means the abolition of all law; for those who have so long groaned under oppression every law is considered as a tyranny."

Before and after 1848 the Duke knew personally nearly all the intellectual men of his day—from Sir Walter Scott to Stendhal, from Nibby to Fea—receiving them in that simple lodging in the *Botteghe Oscure*, which he called "The Catacombs." In later years his *salons* took on a more political colour. Arnim, Odo Russell, and De Canitz were *habitués*, and sometimes, though rarely, Antonelli made his appearance. In 1859, Massimo d'Azeglio visited the Duke for the last time, being in Rome for the purpose of presenting the Prince of Wales, now Edward VII., with the Collar of the SS. Annunziata. Sermoneta also received the

Prince of Wales, presenting him with a piece of artistic plate, a circumstance of which His Royal Highness reminded Onorato Caetani long years afterwards in London. Ricasoli, Minghetti, Massari, Bonfadini, Civinini, and Bonghi, whenever they visited Rome, regarded it as a duty to pay their respects to the Duke, and often dined at his table. He also formed a close friendship with the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the two exchanging an interesting correspondence. It was to him that Gregorovius dedicated his "Lucrezia Borgia." He is mentioned by About in his "Rome Contemporaine." Taine, in his "Voyage en Italie," refers to him. Ampère, Sir David Brewster, Liszt, and Hébert were among the number of his friends. No other Prince could compare with him nor any *salon* equal his, though jealousies and vexations were not lacking. These he repaid by cutting sarcasms. His flow of epigrams was inexhaustible, and his puns, generally of a humorous turn, endless.

The Duke disliked politics, for he had no comprehension of its exigencies, double-dealings, vulgarities, and tamperings with moral laws. The memory of the few days during which he had held office as Minister of Police, in 1848, filled him with horror. He was upright in the highest degree, and disliked all double-dealing. He was no upholder of priestly rule, which he severely condemned, though he disliked even more a false democracy. He poked fun at the ingenuousness of Pius IX. and the ignorance of his Ministers, foreseeing the end of priestly rule, but, at the same time,

DUKE OF SERMONETA.

Doyen of the Roman Aristocracy under Pius IX.

he was personally devoted to the Pope. He disapproved of Antonelli's methods, but maintained friendly relations with him even after 1870. No one knew and judged his environment, with its scarcely veiled sins, its contradictions and laughable follies, better than he. He was the current history of Rome, with his incisive speech and his anecdotes. No wonder he was more feared than loved. An artist, with all the oddities and eccentricities of an artist and a Roman, Caetani loved, like all artists, to dine at taverns—a passion, indeed, shared by all the Roman aristocracy. A low-class hostelry did not shock the prejudices of the patricians, and nothing, then as now, was despised that gave pleasure and conduced to ease and good humour. But their tastes were simpler then than now. On great occasions fine French *menus* were served; but small fish, young kids, cheese made from sheep's milk, and wild chicory were the usual and favourite dishes of all ranks. It was not unusual for the better classes to resort at dinner-time to the *trattorias*, or to give large picnics at night, as, for instance, during the artichoke season, when the Ghetto saw a perfect invasion of the best society, anxious to do honour to the Jewish method of cooking this highly-prized Roman delicacy. It is easy to understand the attention bestowed upon these gentlefolk whenever they honoured with their presence some modest eating-place where, for the sum of thirty *baiocchi*, a dinner equal to one prepared by a *cordon bleu* could be procured.

One dinner, given by the Duchess Castiglione Aldobrandini, outside the Porta del Popolo, to her friends and admirers, including Sermoneta, became famous. With no servants to wait, no silver plate, in a room filled with smoke, lighted by small Roman oil-lamps of two or three burners, they found good and ample fare, garnished with good-humour and washed down with white Frascati wine; so the entertainment did not fail to satisfy the noble guests.

To return to the Duke of Sermoneta, it cannot be denied that he was accused of avarice, explained by the fact that, having let the larger apartment in his palace, he retired to live at the top of the house. On the other hand, two things must be borne in mind—one, that he ardently desired to restore the fortunes of his house, and the other, that his tastes were extremely simple. He preferred walking to riding; when he was a Deputy he never availed himself of his passbook on the railway, but always travelled third-class, paying for his own ticket. One last and characteristic story may be told of him. When, after 1870, he saw the old world crumbling around him, he deemed his last moment had arrived, and with a philosophy equal to that of the ancients, ordered his coffins, one of elm, the other of lead, with the following inscription: "*Michael Angelus Cajetanus, mortem expectans, sepulcrum sibi paravit*," and the date "MDCCCLXX." He survived, however, another twelve years, occupying himself with Dante studies and artistic pursuits, especially

with goldsmith's work, which he had caused the Castellani to revive.

Prince Doria, Prince Borghese, and Alessandro Torlonia, before he became a widower, were those who in the social world rivalled each other in the magnificence of their living. In the Borghese household the presence of a large family of sons gave an added gaiety to the entertainments. Prince Doria, who spent every May at his Villa Pamphyli, to attract guests arranged for an omnibus to run from Piazza Venezia at seven at night, returning to the city at midnight. He had obtained permission to do so from the General of the Army of Occupation, who always paid great deference to the Prince, who had raised a monument in his grounds to the memory of the French soldiers fallen in 1849.

Practical jokes were the rule in society in those days, and it was a triumph of civil education when, in 1870, they were abolished. Poor hangers-on, parasites or buffoons, cleric or lay, were made the victims of humiliating or brutal jokes. To draw away a chair from under them, when about to sit down, or to smear it over with tar so that they remained sticking to it, to fill their nostrils while they slept with strong snuff, to fix paper tails to their dress coats, to place dead toads and mice in their beds, to sprinkle pepper and salt in their coffee, to place crackers in their rooms and explode them during their first sleep, or to introduce a procession of lighted gutta-percha serpents which burnt with a sickening odour, was considered the cleverest joke

imaginable among the Roman as well as Neapolitan nobility. That practical jokes were traditional among the Italians can be seen in Boccaccio and Sacchetti's tales.

Foreign women who married into the Roman aristocracy would not tolerate these indecorous customs, which seemed to them to show a lack of manners. It was due to the influence of the Englishwomen, who were the greatest sufferers, that, after their advent into the houses of the nobility, these habits gradually died. They also brought great influence to bear upon the domestic customs of these noble houses. Comfort was usually entirely absent in those princely residences that were so rich in frescoes and priceless pictures. A *scaldino* was the only protection against cold; baths were rare, still rarer a heating apparatus or even the most elementary hygienic conveniences. Foreign ladies in the first half of the last century exercised a decided influence upon these conditions, which were the worst side of the old habits and traditions of the Roman Princes. The old type of parasite, victim of mannerless jokes, also changed with the times. The new parasite had to be a man of culture and not devoid of intelligence, who became, little by little, the confidant of the mistress of the house or the accomplice of the infidelities of the husband, a man who must know how to amuse the children and elders, mimicking by speech and gesture the more notable and laughable frequenters of the house, or the movements and voice

of priest, psalm-singing friar, cat or dog; joining in the children's games and paying court to the elder members of the house.

In summer Prince Doria travelled with his family, attendants, and servants, going first to Genoa, thence to Marseilles, Paris, and London. If the established hours of the steamers did not suit him, he would charter one for himself; in Paris and London he hired the whole first floor in one of the principal hotels for his private use. But after the death of the Princess, in December, 1858, all was changed. In the place of great banquets there were imposing funeral ceremonies in the church of Sant' Agnese, where the good lady was buried, and where, every morning, the Prince assisted at a requiem Mass. At the entrance of the private garden of Villa Pamphyli, he had the name of "Mary" traced out in myrtle-bushes. It was only in 1868, in honour of a daughter's marriage, that the *salons* were once more thrown open. Under the new *régime*, in 1870, overcome by scruples, he sent in his resignation as Prefect of the Palace, and when nominated Senator, he several times requested to be released, and never put foot in the Senate House. In his capacity as Syndic he had accompanied Victor Emmanuel on his visit to Rome after the inundation of the Tiber, in 1870; but after 1872 the Court saw him no more. The scruples of his confessor and sycophants overpowered his changeable and feeble spirit; he was for ever reciting the rosary surrounded by his kneeling children, and

would never permit an allusion to the fact that, one evening when in attendance upon the King, at the *Tordinone*, he had to lift the curtain for the passage of the Ministers, nor would he ever remember his more or less intimate relations with General Lamarmora, lieutenant of the City after the plebiscite. Doria died in 1876, and was buried in his chapel in Villa Pamphyli, much lamented as a true gentleman.

These religious scruples, the result of a system of education, traces of which are still unfortunately to be found, were common to all the Roman Princes. If some, when well and strong, showed symptoms of a superior spirit, no sooner did they feel the slightest indisposition than they immediately sent for the priest. So, for example, did Don Filippo Barberini, who died in Rome in 1855. He had scarcely fallen ill before he called for his confessor. Not only in religious matters did the influence of confessor and priest carry great weight in patrician families, but also as a guide in all the practical affairs of life. Even signs of vexation given by ladies under the provocation of a tedious conversation, a bad dinner, a gallant word, the pressing of a foot under the table, a warmer handshake than usual, or similar trifles, were confided to the priest, who had to decide whether they were sins in the eyes of the confessional. The priest, as a rule, decided that they were, by which means two confidants, the priest and the confessor, were secured. Nor was it rare that some secret confided in one or other found its way by a curious chance to the ear of

the police, as for example, in 1862, when one of the Noble Guard, who was paying attentions to a beautiful unknown lady, was punished by ten days of religious observances, a punishment which naturally disclosed the name of the lady and increased the scandal.

The intervention of the confessor was not always opportune, and, as a matter of fact, often led to imprudences and moral ruin. The ethical drawbacks to this sacrament were nowhere so apparent as in Rome on account of its frequent employment of confession in all classes and the confusion of the Temporal and Spiritual Power.

The rank of Roman patrician, carrying with it the right to add the arms of Spain and Naples to his own, the fact that in most cases also he was a grandee of Spain and a chamberlain of the Court of Naples, provoked doubtless that ostentatious and insurmountable indifference to everything and that exaggerated spirit of religion which deterred the Roman noble from politics. Nor was it entirely for political reasons that, in 1860, the Prince of Piombino was exiled. It was said that he wished to lead his own life, regardless of appearances and of hints from the Vicariate, and also that he showed Liberal tendencies. The Prince was noted for his eccentricities ; one of them was his refusal to allow his servants to shave, affirming that it annoyed him to see himself surrounded by domestics clean shaved like priests.

The splendour of his home was maintained during

his absence, sixteen horses being kept in the stables of Piazza Poli and four carriages driving out daily. After his death his fine library was sold, and on the site of his Villa the Ludovisi quarter has risen. Duke Sforza Cesarini died in exile in 1866, while his sons were fighting, as volunteers, in the Italian army. After their father's death they obtained an audience of the Pope, who received them brusquely, and asked Francesco whether he had lost his shoes or his hat at Custoza. Neither the Pope nor the clerical party could forgive the "Italianism," as they ironically termed it, of Duke Lorenzo. Augusto Ruspoli, after 1860, though he lived away from Rome, was kept under police surveillance on account of his Liberal tendencies. A dignified and modest man, he never boasted of the services he had rendered to the national cause during his stay in Hungary. This occurred in the agitated days of 1860, when Cavour entered into an alliance with Kossuth, in view of the possibility of Austria attacking Italy during the expedition to the Marches and Umbria. Of all the Roman Liberal nobles, the most level-headed was Ruspoli, who died, generally lamented, in 1862.

The nobles, like all "the Romans of Rome," adopted a haughty and overbearing manner towards provincials, represented as a rule by the Pope's Noble Guard and by the bearers of new titles. The question: "Have you any lamps and churches in your villages?" was repeatedly asked them. Should the newly-made nobles possess wealth, though the older nobility bore

them no goodwill, they found means to swallow their scruples more easily. New titles were of everyday occurrence, the Pope, in token of gratitude, bestowing them on many citizens who had come to his assistance. In this wise, for example, the title of Duke of Galliera was given to Ferrari on account of his loans to the Pontifical government. The Diplomatic body, without distinction of country, but with a preference for those of Catholic lands, were at all times the most welcome guests in the aristocratic *salons*.

Diplomats and cardinals represented the highest element in Roman drawing-rooms where the variegated international life was re-lived, and where European and especially French affairs were the chief topic of conversation ; though to attract the ladies neither fashions nor the last new novel were overlooked.

The ladies of the Roman aristocracy then, as now, spoke French like their native tongue. Their culture was and has remained essentially French. No novel of any standing appears in that language that they do not read. Witty and gracious, with a keen sense of humour, their instincts rarely deceive them in judging of acquaintances, foreign or native, in measuring their grade of education and culture, or in estimating their generosity or meanness according to the manner of their expenditure. They may be said to be born diplomats, for they do not excite themselves for any cause. Nor do they lose their sense of proportion in judging men or things, and rarely lose their self-control even under the dominion of passion.

As they never excite themselves about politics, so they even regard it as vulgar to do so. They do not shrink from the human weakness of gossiping, but they only do so in strictest intimacy. Their curiosity is quickly roused, but as quickly satisfied. Unless determined by serious causes, jealousy and hatred retain no hold. It is for all these reasons that in the Roman *salons* there breathes a cosmopolitan air.

If a stranger possessed a long purse, or was known in name or fame, every house was eager to show him hospitality. Several Ambassadors were remembered for their dinners and sumptuous entertainments. Odo Russell was much appreciated on account of his wit, but more so for presenting the Roman ladies with the latest thing in hats sent out by his orders from London. A young Russian, said to be a natural son of the Czar, the possessor of a splendid fortune which he spent with Crœsus-like liberality, presented magnificent *savonards* that he ordered from Paris. A certain M. des Loges, attached to the French Embassy, was in great favour, especially in the *salons* of Signor Sarfatti, Director-in-Chief of the Railways, because of the reserved carriages he could offer. To obtain entrance into these *salons*, however, it was necessary to be something, either distinguished for culture, wit, riches, art or power, or for supreme, but elegant, frivolity. No distinction was made of country or creed. Rome, the true capital of Christianity, was also the most all-embracing city in the world.

Mention has been made of the few nobles of liberal

tendencies. In the eyes of others, to adopt these views was tantamount to lowering themselves, because it obliged them to make common cause with the middle classes, whom they despised cordially. This contempt, strange though it may seem, was felt equally by the domestic class. One evening, at a reception given at Palazzo Doria, the groom of the chamber announced Signor Valerio Trocchi, a rich proprietor of Aquila, for many years a Roman resident and a *Conservatore* of the city, as "a person named Trocchi!" to the great amusement of the guests; nor was the servant reprimanded, so apt did the word "person" strike the company, for Trocchi was of the people.

It was quite natural that, with few exceptions, the aristocracy should not be Liberals, and if almost all took part in the national movement of 1848, initiated by the Pope, they did not hesitate to follow him in drawing back. They had joined the new movement in good faith, without foreseeing the inevitable result, and were glad to leave it. It was impossible for them, given their positions, to desire a state of things which should compromise or curtail any of their privileges. Among these, besides that of placing their coats-of-arms over their portals or baldachins, there was that of the chain, retained up to the latest times by the Borghese and Antici-Mattei. Once beyond this chain no one could be arrested without the permission of the noble family. Secretly disdainful of the Pontifical government, and in particular of Antonelli and his set

who had been elevated to high office, they took refuge in conspiracies. These, planned and supported by the people, especially by professional men and farmers, spread so vastly in Rome and its environs as to form an iron band, which almost strangled the Pontifical power in the last years of its existence.

Catholicism, as then practised, could not but exercise a baneful influence. Religion had become almost entirely outward. Its most usual manifestations were, attendance at the late Masses, at theatrical functions in the churches, especially during Lent; some curious penances, and, above all, fines paid at the point of death, to ensure the enjoyment of a future life resembling that enjoyed on earth. The most intimate, as well as most insignificant things, were all referred to priest or confessor; in graver cases to a cardinal, or, if necessary, to the Pope himself.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL LIFE AND ITS GRADES

THE social life of Rome moved in two separate orbits, the clergy and the laity. At the head stood the Roman College and the aristocracy; in the middle the prelacy and citizens; and at the bottom the people and the inferior clergy, secular and regular. Of the two hierarchies, the lay was considered below the clerical or privileged order; but even if the two chief social orders had not much consideration for each other there was no real reason for them to stand apart.

The nobles felt themselves honoured and pleased by the friendship of cardinals, just as these latter, especially if of modest origin, were obsequious and deferential to their patrons, paying harmless court to the lady of the house, exalting her graciousness and goodness, and in their turn were flattered at being invited to the aristocratic receptions. Only among those of equal rank was any familiarity permitted.

Cardinals participated in drawing-room games and in all those other amusements, not always in good taste, whose victims were the parasites and the stupid. In aristocratic houses, to the last, the cardinals, even

more than the diplomats, represented the traditional ornaments of a *salon*, where it was counted a privilege to be admitted by those who lacked either a title or some position in art, literature, science, sport, or, at the very least, notoriety. If the prelates or cardinals who were in power showed any lack of deference in their manner towards the nobles, these, in their turn, never hesitated to show their contempt and to ridicule that world of ecclesiastical dignitaries which offered so many contrasts and opened out such a field for humour. To laugh was not to rebel, and laughter does not undermine orthodoxy. These proud nobles, descendants of Papal families, who were in reality petty, irresponsible sovereigns, owning Courts and courtiers, art galleries and historical archives, exercising decisive influence upon State affairs without incurring any responsibilities, were, like the more intellectual among the citizens, much given to epigrams. But their epigrams carried no sting, they were pungent, but not insulting, and always rested on the good sense and keen stoicism characteristic of the Romans. They ridiculed the moral incongruities they held up to view in the governing body, while poking fun, too, at the amusing ingenuousness of strangers. They were less often directed at religious prejudices or exaggerated intolerance. These epigrams, with the added piquancy of a mellow and musical native accent, penetrated into drawing-rooms and theatres, and even into the Sacristies. They were often either a pun or an admonition, in the form of question and answer.

The best known are the "Sonnets of Belli" and the frequent Pasquinades.

The middle-class, through common origin, was more closely allied to the prelacy. It was the link between the two classes; the prelacy, in fact, as ruling over the temporal matters of State and Church, came into more intimate contact with the laity. Through the prelacy and the cardinalate the people could become ennobled, as was the case with the Antonelli, and, early last century, owing to their wealth, with the Torlonia. Although excluded from the highest and most lucrative offices, the middle-class found an outlet for its activity in the professions and in the exclusively lay departments of Post, Telegraph, Customs, and Railways. They began thus to lose something of their old character of clients, in spite of the fact that none of the innumerable anomalies of that strange society had been abolished in which the laity were only allowed to fill certain lesser and poorly paid positions. Though permitted to enter the magistrature through competition, they could not aspire higher than the Courts of First Instance; the Judges of Appeal and the Supreme Court were always selected from among the prelacy. In the exercise of the forensic profession, the laity had to submit to the old methods, according to which no oral or public defence was allowed. A lawyer had no other means of establishing his fame than by writing, in good Latin, civil and canonical memoranda, and supplying information to magistrates, subject to certain

restrictions. For example, lay lawyers, up to the last, were obliged to proceed to the residence of the judges of the *Rota* in closed carriages, at special hours of the day, arrayed in priestly habit, and could not remain after *Ave Maria*, it being the custom to finish any case in hand before lighting the lamps. In other ways the laity, by obtaining a certain unauthorised but tacitly tolerated aggregation of employments, managed to eke out a modest existence. This system of plurality produced some curious results. Thus an *employé*, engaged in several departments, ended by attending to none. It was a curious society in which no one had the courage to speak frankly or directly, where nothing was done without the help of intermediaries, and where the smallest proprietor had his agent, although he in his turn was the agent of some other proprietor.

The members of this middle-class, lay, and clerical, knew each other and helped each other mutually. The dominant spirit was patriarchal, though not free from spite and hidden jealousies. Sons succeeded to their fathers not only in private enterprises, but also in government offices, and it was always patronage that prevailed: there was no career without it. If there was little envy, nevertheless all were striving after more influential patronage. This society, as it was governed by ecclesiastics, reflected their character. Caution, insincerity, and reticence were its keynotes. But clerical rule was light, caressing, and never insensible to influence, especially that of women,

Princes, and diplomats, and, except in politics, it was benevolent and clement. To favour relations and friends seemed the most natural, the most obligatory thing in the world to those prelates who were at the head of departments and who loved their families, of which they were usually the head or the most solid support. Not insensible to human temptations, these prelates and priests could easily be overcome by temptation of all sorts. There was no kind of check upon them. Excepting the *Giornale di Roma*, an official paper, the other newspapers occupied themselves with literature, science, and religion—and woe to those that spoke of public affairs! Cardinal Antonelli, an inveterate enemy of the liberty of the Press, was wont to say that newspapers should limit themselves to announcing the functions in the Papal chapels and giving interesting news of Chinese insurrections.

The region of large estates encircling Rome was really an economical and social world *sui generis*. Except in the case of Alessandro Torlonia, who personally administered his estates, absenteeism was the rule. After the Restoration the custom revived of letting the large estates to the class known as *Mercanti di Campagna*. It was so convenient to receive the revenues of the estate quarterly in cash without troubling about the caprices of the seasons! Thus it did not matter to the proprietor if the harvests were good or bad. He never himself visited his properties. On special occasions he sent either the

Pro-prince, or his agent, or his engineer, or an agricultural expert, or steward. To the *Mercante di Campagna* belonged the cattle and all agricultural implements, and the repairs of the few buildings pertained to him as tenant. Conditions for letting advantageous to both parties were made possible by the Customs regulations, which closed the frontier to foreign cereals until the price of home-grown grain had risen above thirty *lire* the quintale, when the restriction was removed. And on those occasions when the frontier was opened to the import of grain, the difficulties of transport and distance caused grain to rise to forty *lire* before a single hectolitre was exported from Tuscany. From 1860—70 importation was rendered impossible because of the *Octroi*, the result being that the price of grain, always remunerative, made up for the loss of trade in cattle, which were ill-kept, ill-bred, and ill-tended. Some specially severe winters caused heavy losses among calves and lambs. Large sums were spent by De Angelis, a Calabrian, and by the Duke of Sermoneta in an attempt to breed horses, but without encouraging results. The breeding of animals was either a loss or but slightly remunerative, with the exception of sheep ; while the exportation of cheese, sheep's milk cheese, wool, and lambs continued in fairly large quantities. But the margin offered by cereals was so great, and the general taxes so light, that almost all the *Mercanti di Campagna* became rich, and formed a class which began to vie with the patrician.

Differences and prejudices yielded to the pressure of the times all the more readily because, under the form of anticipatory grants, not a few nobles had become dependants upon their respective tenants. Indeed, among the middle-class and, in fact, among all classes below the nobles, the *Mercanti di Campagna* were the only men possessed of means. Frugal in domestic life, when opportunity offered they revealed themselves romantically munificent. The women of their families, with their wonderful head-dresses and rich jewels, formed, together with the wives of the higher officials, what was known as the class of the *generone*. The majority held liberal and even anti-clerical views. Some speculated in grain, with the help of the Banca Romana, that institution which, existing in a district possessed neither of industries nor of commerce, degenerated steadily from the day it was reconstituted, lending money to its friends and administrators for purposes that could not always be acknowledged, and which certainly were not commercial.

The richer among the *Mercanti di Campagna* built themselves palaces, not always in the best taste. They gave dinners which, if they could not in magnificence rival those of the Princes, were not outshone in sumptuousness. And they frequented the theatres like the nobles. Those who possessed no carriages hired fine equipages for their drives, and were easily recognised by the head-dresses of the ladies and their numerous progeny. Although the aristocracy and the *Mercanti* might seem to be drawn together, marriages

between them were rare. The prejudices against becoming "vulgarised" were the last to disappear, but it must be added that the Roman middle-class, far from seeking such alliances, were proud of their own origin. All the wealthier "*generone*" held receptions during Carnival, to which they invited the families of the tradespeople and small *bourgeois*, forming the class known as "*generetto*." Jealousies and backbiting prevailed between "*generone*" and "*generetto*." The name "*generone*," indeed, was invented by the "*generetto*" to revenge themselves for the want of consideration in which they were held by the other class. Neither were received by the nobles.

Princes and cardinals, by universal consent, were regarded as above discussion; it was not permissible to speak of them except by their titles, and it was considered a liberty to boast of their acquaintance. Cardinals used, and still use, the third person when talking together, addressing each other as "Eminence"; and Princes had to be very intimate and of equal birth before they might call each other by Christian name or nickname. The friendly cordiality which reigned among Roman citizens was entirely absent among the patricians and the higher grades of the clergy, including the higher prelacy destined to the purple and occupying important and lucrative positions in the ecclesiastical offices. Even in his own family a cardinal was never spoken of except as "His Eminence," and addressed as "Monsignore" by his parents and brothers. If

addressed by his baptismal name it was prefixed with "Don." The head of the table was his by right, and no one dared to contradict his will. The mere fact of being a priest bestowed a privileged position in the family. On the other hand, those cardinals and prelates who did not live with their parents or brothers, ended by becoming the servants of their servants and being entirely under their thumb. Such was society in those days. Cases of servants that were really masters were also seen in patrician families. How many old bachelor Princes, worn-out and feeble, pretending they were made of different clay from other men, were, in private, slaves to their valets, especially if the latter slyly encouraged their weaknesses to the point of keeping all cares or worries from their master! Society had been thus for ages; nor did any rebel, so universal and almost inevitable was the general acceptance. Power, supreme and uncontrolled, was embodied in the ecclesiastical order and in those families that had descended from Popes, which were part of the sovereign power.

The most common and, relatively speaking, the most lucrative business for Roman citizens was letting rooms and apartments to foreigners. Hotels and large *pensions* were much less numerous than they are to-day. Boarding was the custom. Those who let rooms provided their lodgers with their dinners, and thus there grew up between them a certain intimacy that often led to happy results. In this wise they managed to please their lodgers and at the same time

to fleece them to their heart's content, and further, owing to an advantageous let, they could live and eat free of expense. Another source of gain for these apartment-letting families were the charitable gifts that were bestowed for various causes, on which account these families constituted a species of *demi-monde*, who lived from hand to mouth, alternating between debts and extravagances, and devoid of thrift. The larger and better class of apartments were furnished with good taste. Every family knew some cardinal or prelate who recommended their lodgings to foreigners. Only very great foreign families had their own kitchens and cooks. No dinners were served in the *cafés;* the first to do this was a pastrycook in Piazza di Spagna, who furnished breakfasts *à la fourchette* in a little ground-floor room. Following his example, his brother-in-law opened a restaurant in the Via Condotti, with large and spacious rooms, where, during Carnival, dinners and banquets were given in honour of distinguished foreigners.

Living was cheap. The price of the prime necessities, especially of bread and meat, were small, and if, by reason of the vine disease of 1850, the price of wine increased, it never exceeded two *baiocchi* the "*foglietta.*" Beef cost five *baiocchi* the pound; fowls, cheese, and sheep's-milk cheese, the principal food of the lower-class, were cheap. For one *paolo*—that is, ten *baiocchi*—thirty eggs could be bought in summer. And these prices, which to-day seem incredibly low, appeared high in comparison to that

of twenty years earlier, and were so, indeed, on account of the increase in population, the military occupation, and the ever-growing number of foreigners. Rent was equally low, and especially so for the lower-classes, who were the constant consideration of the Popes. Indeed, Pius V. felt obliged to abolish some of his predecessor's edicts in favour of poorer tenants, as being too damaging to the interests of the proprietors. Some of these edicts were re-established by Gregory XIII. with modifications; Gregory XV. forbade anyone to evict, from either rooms or shops, lodgers whose rent was below two hundred *lire* per annum, if they were regular in their payments. Evictions were rare, whether because the larger number of buildings belonged to charitable institutions who had been prohibited from putting houses occupied by the poor to other uses, or because it was easy to obtain delays, thanks to small payments on account, and patronage. The priests were constant in their exhortations to proprietors not to raise their rents. In some princely houses the praiseworthy system obtained of never raising their rents under any circumstances. Gregory XV. had encouraged the building of new houses and the enlarging of old ones by exemptions from taxation, and Leo XII., in 1826, had exempted all new buildings from taxation for the space of nearly one hundred years. In 1830 a working man with a family of four children could rent an apartment of two rooms and a kitchen for twelve *scudi* a year, which price, doubled by 1869, to-day has reached scandalous proportions.

Beside these cheap and economic conditions the infinite number of charitable institutions had also to be taken into account. No other city in the world could boast of so many as Rome: hospitals, shelters, pawnshops, children's hospitals, orphanages, retreats, monasteries, congregations, and homes, all institutions more charitable than provident. They would really have fully sufficed to meet the needs of the poorer classes had there been any sort of order in their management, but they were administered by the clergy, who, up to the last, made use of these funds to cover the expenses of their religious services.

Future historical philosophers must work out the problem whether a society constituted like that of Rome could drag out its existence through the ages, with a basis for its economic life of official charity in every form, and whether this indiscriminate charity was the reason why no indigenous vigorous activity found scope to develop and prosper, and why Rome remained one of the poorest of all the great cities of the world. I do not think either of these facts was produced solely by the other, but rather that they were at once cause and effect of an historical condition which extended back to the Republic and Empire, of which in many ways the Papacy was the heir. Many able men have studied the question of Roman charities and made clear the fact that the foundation of the city's social life was charity in all its various manifestations, and that without it half the population could not have managed to exist.

The census of 1871, confirming that of 1857, showed one man of means to every fifty inhabitants, and demonstrated that, deducting all persons employed in manual labour, traffic and commerce, the free professions, the army, clergy, and government *employés*, out of a population not exceeding 200,000 souls, 112,000 of both sexes wrote themselves down as of no occupation; and, of these, deducting the children, there remained a mass of 70,000 unemployed, not counting the floating population, which varied in numbers with each month of the year. These people all lived on official charity left by pious founders who had provided for every necessity of life, and it would be no exaggeration to affirm that anyone in any way able to prove a claim could avail himself of the benefit of these institutions. It might cause astonishment that the chief sources of supply for the greater part of the population should be these charities, if we did not remember that these traditions, which antedated Christianity, had become a social law and in themselves had pauperised, corrupted, and reduced the beneficiaries to servitude as illustrated by the numerous corn-laws of the Republic.

The third grade of lay society had its counterpart among the clergy, in the poorer priests, called *scagnozzi*, and the mendicant friars, who begged for charity in kind and money, exercising the professions of doctors, dentists, models and fortune-tellers, escorting the dead, and, at a pinch, preaching in the open air. The tie which bound the lower clergy and

the lower laity together was strong, for the mendicant friars gave their leavings to the very poor.

The most laborious, most unhappy, most resigned, and least exacting of this population were the labourers of the Campagna and the vine-cultivators. They visited Rome on Sundays, dressed in their primitive costumes, their faces showing traces of malaria; they assembled in the piazzas to buy provisions, to get their letters written by the public letter-writer, or to be shaved, sitting under the characteristic big umbrellas. This custom of open-air shaving lasted until after 1870. The public writers still exist.

The poverty of the lower-classes far exceeded that of any other European city. The workmen who lived without charitable assistance were in the minority; work was intermittent and individual and unassisted by credit. Each man worked on his own account and rested or made holiday as pleased him best, often spending in one day the earnings of a week. Such irregular existence was rooted in the knowledge that, under no circumstances, could anyone die of hunger. The municipality daily subsidised some three thousand families, and the cardinals, monastic orders, and princely houses, also spent large sums in this manner. The Jesuits sent out daily hundreds of baskets containing food to families to whom they could not well give a halfpenny in alms.

Infinite and plausible were the artifices resorted to by the parasites of the various charities, and not less

amusing were their methods of obtaining relief, especially on solemn occasions. Despite the fact that part of the foreign charities were shared by the inhabitants, the duplicity, the laughable artifices attempted in the distribution of "*grossi*" and "*grossetti*," which always took place on the anniversary of the coronation of Pius IX. in the courtyard of the Belvedere, must be mentioned. All the poor of the city had gathered there, and, as two "*grossi*"—ten *baiocchi*—were bestowed upon women either pregnant or carrying a child in their arms, many counterfeited that condition by puffing themselves out with pieces of cloth or by hiring children, always the same, whom they passed from one to another. Slightly tarnished "*grossi*" that often adhered to the bottom of the paper wrappers went towards the maintenance of those charged with the distribution of these alms, and they often passed these wrappers to some lady or family of their acquaintance.

The Charity Commissaries were daily besieged by a crowd of applicants, much increased on all high festivals. The same crowd flocked to the cardinal's ante-chambers and other charitable institutions, and still more to the parish priests, where they went to demand the indispensable permits, without which they could not obtain their doles. The parish priest certified to the respectability — even when it was worse than dubious—and the poverty, even when doubtful, of the applicant. So numerous were these requests that some parish priests, to avoid fatigue

and save time, used a printed form bearing the words : " This testifies to the honesty and poverty of the bearer, living in this parish."

Never, under any circumstances, did the parish priest refuse his signature, even if several permits were claimed by the same person. These were easy-going times, when, without looking too closely into things, everyone was satisfied.

Of necessity the poorer classes came into contact with the middle-class, but more intimately with the class ranking at the base of the social pyramid, that is, the parish priest and the mendicant orders. The parish priest was their confidant, and their intercourse was not devoid of affection, justified by their common origin. Also he represented to them a sort of terrestrial Providence who, thanks to his capacity for pulling certain wires, could obtain for them the most various benefits : dowries for their girls, free dinners, beds to sleep on, admission into hospitals and refuges, even coffins free of cost. And then, too, did he not know all their most private concerns ? Further, he was disposed to overlook and excuse even the worst instincts of his flock, such as hatred, violence, or the insane Roman pride, nourished by idleness, taverns, and ignorance, which incited people to brandish knives more often from swaggering wickedness than on any point of honour.

Thirty-six years of the new era have not changed their habits. The new-comers have taken over these parasite methods as a legacy, wherefore their

Romanisation, too, is complete. The number of applicants has also increased. To-day the journalist has his turn, the patriot, wounded at Mentana, the victims of the building crisis, the artist unable to sell his works, the endless number of promoters of lotteries, of the charity concerts got up for the benefit of decayed, but always anonymous families. Also the custom of tips has become a veritable curse. Who does not demand a tip on days like December 15, and Epiphany, Easter, and August 15? If the contrast between the indifference and pride of the Roman, and his unashamed begging and even living upon charity was striking in the past, so the modern custom of looking for tips under the semblance of a good wish is the present-day habit of all workmen. Not a few middle-class families, quite devoid of legitimate claims, lived on charity, either in the shape of pensions or a small post. Each noble house had its own list of families called "*vergognose*" to support, recommended by the confessor of the Princess, the tutor, steward, lawyer, or some acquaintance. Nor were the recommendations always disinterested.

Feelings of honour were not lacking among the lower-classes, and infractions were usually vindicated by the knife. Neither vivacious nor talkative, wary and rather insincere, almost rough and of a sardonic humour, the populace loved amusements and feasts. A dinner at an inn—preferably outside the walls—was the height of their ambition; but not seldom, at those same dinners, after having enjoyed

the food and wine, either from motives of jealousy, from quarrels over cards, or for more trivial causes, their knives were drawn. Their roughness of manners was due to want of education, to the proud Roman prejudices, to the example of the upper-classes, and the example set by the priests, who exercised public authority and were not insensible to the charms of the gentler sex. But the hatred of priests was not extended to the nobles, since they were not responsible for the government. Also, they supported in their households many workmen and servants, who, for generations, had looked upon themselves as part of the family. The same custom prevailed in the convents and monasteries, and was applied to the lay officials of the churches. Cardinals and prelates, having no family life, employed hired servants. These, after their patron's death, were usually dismissed by the heir, who, at the same time, sold off the personal possessions by auction. The articles were put up for sale with exaggerated eulogiums and prices. Everything—luxurious furniture, objects connected with religious observances, pictures and jewels—all were sold. Pyxes, chalices, pectoral crosses and rings of value were, as a rule, bought by the Jews. And so usual was this custom of selling that, far from regarding it as indecorous, it was considered the most natural and legitimate thing in the world. The desire to realise quickly overcame every other sentiment on the part of the heir. The one exception to this rule was for cardinals belonging to

Italian, and especially Roman, families, if of elevated rank.

This social organisation had some economic advantages. All things were settled by fixed and ancient rules. *Employés* succeeded each other by heredity. For the middle and lower-classes there were two limits which it was agreed they should not overstep, the law of entail, with all its consequences in social life, and the immense patrimony of the Church. These two principles together constituted what was called mortmain, and made a close preserve of four-fifths of the territorial property of Rome and the neighbourhood. If the feeling for rank had, therefore, become a temperamental characteristic of the race, this was again the inevitable result of a state of affairs unlike any other in the world.

The diverse methods of education helped to make this difference between the aristocracy and the people still more marked. It was not so much that their ways were so unlike, for in reality they were similar, especially as regards domestic life. But, through intermarriage, the aristocracy had improved many of their habits. The grade of education, practically the same among the men of the aristocracy and middle-class, differed radically among the women. To a young English, French, or German Princess, accustomed to all the refinements of her race, to ancestral luxury and a delicate manner of living, no intercourse was possible with the small *bourgeoisie* who made

public displays of gorgeous raiments and jewels, and boasted of their well-being and their insensibility to art and culture. If there existed no class-hatred, there was a vast gulf of moral differences fixed between class and class, nor could this be otherwise. The life of the *bourgeoisie* flowed along peacefully. Their favourite amusement consisted in gay gatherings, where no count was taken of the bills, the total cost being divided afterwards equally, thus giving rise to the Italian saying, "*Alla Romana*," to signify that each paid for himself. These feasts were distinguished by animal spirits, where characteristic scenes of jealousy, especially at marriage festivals, not rarely occurred.

The principal charitable institution that came to the relief of all classes was the Monte di Pietà. The nature of the things pledged, from strings of pearls and precious stones to the gold and silver treasures of some great family or some extravagant lady, from the pictures and sculptures of well-known artists to linen and furniture, betrayed the economic condition of the various classes. Little was paid and the conditions were very easy. Towards the end of 1857 the great establishment which bore on its façade "Magnum Pietatis Opus" underwent a crisis which imperilled its existence and gave rise to an interesting lawsuit. At the head of the Monte di Pietà, as director, was the Marchese Giampietro Campana, one of the best-known nobles with a patrimony of 200,000 *scudi*. His wife, a distinguished Englishwoman, had brought him a dowry of ten thousand pounds sterling, and

he, in addition to free lodging, drew a stipend of eighty *scudi* a month. He was also a Communal Councillor for the patricians, a member of the Administrative Council of the Banca Romana, and the possessor of a rich collection of pictures, Etruscan ornaments, and imperial statues. In August, 1853, already crippled by debt, he was named director of the Monte di Pietà. By enlarging its operations he increased its property, in spite of the active rivalry of the nascent Banca Romana. But his financial affairs having gone from bad to worse, after attempting to sell his Museum to the Czar, he decided upon pawning it, maintaining that it was not illegal for him to claim assistance from the institution which he had enlarged and by which all had benefited. The Minister of Finance authorised a first loan of twenty thousand *scudi*. Then, without further permission, Campana enlarged the loan to about half a million *scudi* on the strength of an estimate that valued the Museum at five millions at the lowest.

It was not possible to keep such a transaction secret. Campana himself revealed it to the Minister of Finance, at the same time continuing his efforts to sell the Museum either to England or France. His debt, including interest, amounted to 570,341 *scudi*. Campana sought to stave off ruin, but on November 28, 1857, the matter having become public property, police and *gendarmes* were posted at the entrance of the Monte di Pietà, and the Procurator-fiscal, the impeaching judge, an accountant, and a notary

proceeded to verify the books, in consequence of which the Monte di Pietà was discovered to have a deficit of 79,000 *scudi*. Campana was arrested and tried by the Criminal Court. The immense and unjustifiable expenses he had incurred for the restoration of his villa on the Lateran, by which it was transformed into a princely residence, the building of another at Frascati for establishing a manufactory of artificial marbles, and, above all, the expenses incurred for his Museum—the best pictures and precious Etruscan objects had been acquired by Napoleon III., and the statuary by the Russian government—all helped to prejudice his cause, so that he was sent to prison, and his Museum confiscated. The Monte di Pietà recovered its dues. Campana, after some years of imprisonment, was exiled to Naples, where he devoted himself to spiritualism. He died poor; nor did he reap any benefit from his political zeal, or the assistance he had given to the Swiss soldiers after the flight of Pius IX. A special section in the Louvre contains treasures from the Campana Museum, and the Academy of the Lincei harbours those pictures which were not sold. The case of Campana was in some respects the forerunner of the Banca Romana scandal of evil memory.

Campana, to save himself from ruin, also attempted to finance railways. Shortly before the catastrophe he had entered into negociations with the contractor of the Neapolitan railways, de Riseis. But, owing to the sudden exposure at the Monte di Pietà, the

proceedings were cut short. Baron di Riseis, to his honour be it told, came to the assistance of his friend, who, abandoned by all, and condemned to prison, found himself in dire distress. Pius IX. was insensible to any cry for mercy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROME OF YESTERDAY

IN 1870 certain small houses were demolished as not being in keeping with the splendour of the Rinuccini Palace, the home of the Bonapartes—who, after their fall, had accepted the hospitality of Pius VII. In this way the entrance to the Corso from the Piazza Venezia was much enlarged. The first floor of the palace was occupied by the Bonapartes; the second, at the time to which we refer, by the American banker, Hooker, a rich and eccentric man, whose famous afternoon ball will never be forgotten. The Palazzo Doria, was not entered as at present, but had its chief portal at the side, next Santa Maria in Via Lata. The ground floor of Palazzo Simonetti was occupied by the Banca Romana. Next to it, was the small house of Count Cella, as to-day, while upon the site of the fine Savings Bank was an ancient house, owned by the factor, Alibrandi, rich in money and still more so in fat, and known as the *panzoni*. The united weight of the family, including father, mother and six children, amounted to twenty-five hundredweight, and Romans passing before the palace jestingly hastened their

steps for fear the house and its contents should fall and crush them. The ground floor of this building was occupied by the well-known Café Veneziano, since 1848 the haunt of priests, friars, and the servants of cardinals and prelates, who, instead of being called by their own names made use of those of their masters.

At the corner, just before turning into Caravita, was the shop of the well-known Testoni; while at the corner of Via di Pietra, beyond the Palazzo Brenda, confiscated like the Palazzo Piombino, with a precipitancy time has not justified, rose the Palazzo Polidoro, whose ground floor was occupied by a printer, who, in addition to serving the University and the theatre, also undertook the printing of school-books. Meetings often occurred here between the Rector of the University and Jacovacci, the well-known *impresario* of the Apollo Theatre. Next followed the perfume-shop of that Signora Alegiani, whose son, disdaining scents and essences, devoted himself to medicine; the fashionable establishment of Pucinelli, much patronised by the ladies of the *generone*, as well as by the aristocracy, for its linens and clothes; and near the Palazzo Colonna, the Merle Library, the resort of such cultured visitors to Rome as Ampère and About and men of their stamp.

On the present site of the pastrycooks, Rossi and Singer, flourished the prosperous Café Giglio, until 1849 the haunt of the most ardent Liberals, where the memory still lingered of the insult hurled by Cermuschi

at the French army on its entry into Rome. In after days this *café* became a *rendezvous* for the clericals, and, after the fall of the curtains at the various theatres it was thronged with late supper parties given by officers of the Noble Guard and fashionable young men, enjoying "*Crostino alla provatura.*" With the exception of Palazzo Piombino, Piazza Colonna remains as it was; and while neither Palazzo Brancadero, now Ferrajoli, nor the Palazzo Chigi, then occupied only by their proprietors, have undergone any alteration, the palace rising above the portico of Veio is scarcely to be recognised. Its ground floor was, for a few years before and after 1870, the Post Office, and is to-day occupied by two restaurants. On its first floor was, then, the French Military Club, and afterwards that of the Pontifical officers. And hence, from the Piazza Colonna, started those military tattoos with drums, which, on Fridays, gave place to a concert by dragoons. These performances, in the years 1859 and 1860, gave frequent rise to political outbursts; in particular on the occasions of the unfurling of the Sardinian flag after the battles of Magenta and Solferino.

Where now stands the shop of Finzi and Bianchelli, lay hidden certain small dark shops, one of which was occupied by Luigi Mancinelli, hatter to the aristocracy. On its proprietor's return from a trip to America, it was thronged by crowds of admirers awed by the courage of one who had dared to cross the ocean! A second was occupied by the gunsmith,

Diamante, who only sold, however, to people well known to himself and the government.

Palazzo Fiano, on the Corso, had the air of a barrack, and the only decent-looking shop was that of Massoni, the leading Roman milliner. To the right of the Corso, starting from Piazza Venezia, the most important palace, then and now, belonged to Duke Salviati, whose Duchess, on Monday evenings, received the most orthodox fashionable families, and gave balls during Carnival. General Rufus-King, Minister to the United States of America, inhabited the second floor. As there was no American Protestant Church in Rome in those days, he transformed his large *salon* into a chapel, to the horror of his very Catholic landlady, who, when the General changed his residence, had the room thoroughly cleaned and fumigated. The ground floor had not yet been turned into shops.

A small building occupied the site of the new palace since erected by Prince Odescalchi; and at the corner of San Marcello, below the actual seat of the "*questura*" was the Bonifazi Library; a few steps further rose the beautiful church of San Marcello. Then came the Palazzo Sciarra, whose entrance door was one of the architectural wonders of Rome; the arch is no longer in existence. The old pastrycook, Voarino, whose shop was at the corner, attracted many passers-by with his delicious "*maritozzi*," that characteristic Roman Lenten delicacy. In the house beyond Via delle Muratte was the club of the Noble

Guards. Tne Palazzo Piombino, so ugly outside, but comfortable within, completed the square of the Piazza Colonna. This latter palace was occupied solely by its proprietors, whose servants were Lucchese, the porter, a Swiss, and the head coachman, that man who, on St. Antonio's Day, made a point of driving eight horses to the church of that Saint for the blessing.

Beyond the Vicolo Cacciabove, the Corso narrowed again, and it was on its narrow pavement that the dandies stood to watch the passage of the carriages of the aristocracy. Ancient houses, with irregular windows, filled the space between the Via San Claudio and the Convertite. The old Marignoli houses have become a huge palace, sheltering on the ground floor the Café Aragno, and on the first the Hunt Club. No one would have guessed that this particular spot was destined to become the centre of the heart of new Rome.

Further on, was the establishment of the leading optician, the first to introduce daguerrotypes into Rome, who was followed by the Jesuit Father Vittorio della Rovere, who, on leaving the Roman College, opened a photographic studio.

Of all the cities of Italy, Rome was the one least well furnished with *cafés*, and the few she boasted were far from elegant. The custom of frequenting such resorts was limited to the middle-class, and it was only later, after dinners and lunches were served at the Café San Carlo, on the Corso, that the young

nobles and the French and Pontifical officers began to meet there. A short time before 1870 the government had permitted a club to be opened on that spot, on condition that it be called the Club of San Carlo and no game to be played but billiards.

Cafés were the ordinary meeting-place of friends who congregated for the games of "*Tresette*" and "*scopone*"; for business-men who met to talk over their affairs; for loungers, whose amusement, between drinks, was the annoying of their neighbours by cutting their coats. The big hotels, *pensions*, restaurants, and numberless drinking-places, prevented the *café* from serving any other purpose than that of being a pleasant spot in which to talk, to drink sherbert or other refreshing waters, to eat cakes and delicious "*maritozzi*," and to play games of cards. Students frequented No. 45, Piazza St. Eustachio, where flourished the Café della Sapienza. There, in 1848, occurred the first enrolments for the war of independence; there the demonstrations were organised, while upon a wall hung a fine copy of the new map of United Italy; under the name of Rome was written in pencil the words "Capital of Italy."

No one writing a description of life in Rome during the stormy years which elapsed between the amnesty of 1847 and the entry of the French in 1849 could omit a description of this interesting *café* or of another, the "Belle Arti," below the Palazzo Fiano, on the Corso. Both the Sapienza and the Belle Arti *cafés* became so famous during the period of revolution,

1847—49, that after the Restoration General Oudinot closed them both at the moment of the entry of the French troops. The Café delle Belle Arti, even more than the Sapienza, was the meeting-place for the most violent and active agitators, and was hence under the closest police surveillance. The small Café Bagnoli, at the corner of Via Convertite, was the haunt of quieter folk, such as old artists, actors, and young idlers, who exchanged the current theatrical gossip, and all the news about the latest arrivals at the hotels.

Others preferred the Café Greco, which had survived after more than a century of life, and not a few authors, visitors to Rome—among others, d'Azeglio—have recorded their recollections of this modest establishment in their memoirs. From 1848—70, it became the common meeting-ground of foreign and Italian painters and sculptors.

No comparison is possible between the city of yesterday and of to-day. A whole century rather than a few years might have elapsed. After nine at night, with the exception of the principal thoroughfares, the streets, miserably lighted by melancholy gas-lamps, were deserted and gloomy, enlivened only by the passing of the police on their rounds. The day was spent in business, in visiting the various sights, and in amusements; but, as soon as night fell, the town assumed a lugubrious aspect, which only a morbid sentimentality or a ridiculous conventionality could in any way clothe in mystic poesy or memories of other days. After 1865, while Florence was the capital,

THE FARNESE PALACE AT ROME.

Commenced under Pope Paul III.

life there revived, and Naples has ever been a city of gaiety and life. But Rome, situated midway between the two, seemed a city separated from the world, a city whose life was bounded by the Piazza Colonna and Piazza del Popolo, by Via Condotti, Piazza di Spagna, and Piazza Barberini, by the Maddalena, Rotonda, Piazza Navona, and Palazzo Madama. Carriages returning from the Pincio never passed beyond the Antonine Column; dragoons regulated the files of vehicles, and unmercifully belaboured any driver who ventured to deviate from the straight path.

One more curious detail. The custody of the Antonine Column was confided to the care of a shoeblack, who, for a small sum, permitted eccentric persons to ascend for the purpose of committing suicide by throwing themselves from the summit, an event which happened not infrequently. The quarter lying behind Piazza Venezia, named the "Macel de' Corvi," some of whose houses date back to the fifth century, was incredibly dirty. It seemed scarcely possible that in modern times people could be found to live there, or that such a neighbourhood could have survived to modern times. From the days after the fall of the Empire, when the peasants fled from the malaria of the Campagna, and settled at the foot of the historic hills, Rome gradually assumed the aspect of a collection of small villages and seemed like a city made up of pieces. Nor has this appearance entirely changed. Hence the strident contrasts between the social habits in the various quarters and classes, as

well as among the buildings; for, crowding against magnificent palaces, stand the most insignificant erections, constructed without plan or architectural instinct. And this in the city over the building of which Vitruvius once presided!

The Ghetto, more characteristic in its way than any other in Europe, was surpassed by the Via Montanara where dwelt a rural population of herdsmen and vine-dressers, a rough and quarrelsome gentry, and a little further on cowherds, all men quick to resort to their knives. And even excluding the Ghetto, the city was anything but famous for cleanliness; the inhabitants using the streets as appendages to their houses, hanging linen from the windows to dry, and throwing from them all their rubbish out into the streets. The frequent protests of the *Senatore* and his advisers, engraved on stones at street corners, had no more effect than the repeated protests of the Spanish Viceregents of Naples and Milan. And, if Rome, the Mistress of the World, escaped the shame of being, as Naples was, the dirtiest city in Europe, it was only thanks to her liberal water-supply and the number of her fountains.

CHAPTER IX

PIUS IX.—THE DOGMA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—THE RAILWAYS.

DESPITE some political disturbances and various executions, the years 1852—58, were the most peaceful of Pius IX.'s Pontificate. He seized every occasion to assert his double sovereignty. He also enjoyed himself, chosing his companions from among the younger gentlemen-in-waiting of his Court, scions of noble houses, but like all courtiers, men of frivolous lives, rather than from among his Ministers or cardinals. The leading trait of Pius IX. was curiosity. Ever desirous of knowing all there was to know about everyone, he kept his own affairs to himself. His *camerieri segreti*, and especially his *major-domo*, De Medici, encouraged this curiosity, daily recounting to him all the local anecdotes, gossip, and spicy scandals. Of no amusements did Pius IX. deprive himself, either sacred or mundane. Many were the surprise visits he paid, delighting to arrive suddenly, unexpectedly, at a hospital, a refuge, an artist's studio, a

church undergoing repair, an oratory or convent. He derived special amusement from the confusion into which his appearance would throw the nuns. He took long walks outside the walls, sometimes penetrating far into the country, from Porta San Pancrazio, enjoying the wonderful spring and autumn sunsets. Walking along the fine roads under the walls, he would re-enter Rome by Porta Cavalleggeri. One autumn morning he extended his walk to the third milestone on the Via Ostiense, as far as *Aquas salvias*, or Tre Fontane, lingering awhile by the ruins upon which rise the churches dedicated to SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio. On his return, pausing at S. Paolo, where he dined gaily, in company with several cardinals, the French Generals, and the Ambassador, De Rayneval, whom the abbot had invited to meet him, he afterwards visited the works proceeding in the basilica, and passing through the famous cloister of the Vassalletti, he re-read and wittily commented upon the monastic inscriptions. The remains of Christian archæology, especially of the first centuries, seemed to appeal to him. In his frequent visits to the Catacombs and Coloseum, he was interested in listening to the explanations given by De Rossi and Visconti, who often accompanied him. Seizing their opportunity, the two great archæologists pressed for permission to excavate in the Forum, between the temple of Castor and the base of the Capitol, with the object of discovering whether the remains were those of the Basilica Giulia. The restoration of S. Lorenzo, and

many other works, recall the memory of that sentimental Pope, the friend of art and the shows of life, who had an originality all his own. One day, when out for a drive, he met the Viaticum that was being carried to the house of a dying person. Descending from his carriage, and seizing a candle from the first comer, he mixed with the crowd, accompanying the Viaticum first to the house of the sick person and then back to the church. On re-entering his carriage he was followed by an enthusiastic crowd, whose applause pleased him as it would please an actor. Another day, walking on the Pincio, it occurred to him that some ornament might fitly break the monotony of those walks. He then remembered that at the Ministry of Public Works, fifty-two busts of illustrious men, almost all antiques, were awaiting a suitable locality for their erection. Forthwith he ordered they should be placed in the garden, and, impatient as he was by nature, especially where his vanity was concerned, or where he had any doubts as to being obeyed, he ordered that the work should be completed within a few weeks.

In 1855 he desired to celebrate April 12, the anniversary of his return to Rome, by an expedition into the country. Accompanied by Cardinals Antonelli, Patrizi, and D'Andrea, after visiting the Basilica of Alessandrina and the Catacombs, seven miles from Rome, he repaired to S. Agnese, where dinner had been prepared in the cloister of the Lateran canons. All his companions joined him. The repast was most festive, the Pope being more than usually

good-humoured. The dinner ended, all the students of the College of the Propaganda, desiring to kiss the Papal foot, were admitted into the ground-floor room, a room of fair dimensions, but incapable of holding the numbers who struggled to enter. Thus it happened while the ceremony was proceeding that the main beam broke, the floor gave way, and the whole company were precipitated, with great noise, into the cellar. One hundred and thirty persons fell, one upon the other, mixed up with bricks and beams; but, wonderful to relate, all escaped without any injury except a few slight contusions. Recovering from their fright, they were able to issue one by one, and all at once sought the church, where Pius IX., to render thanks for peril escaped, intoned the *Te Deum*. The report of the disaster quickly reached Rome. The Pope was met at the Via Nomentana by an enthusiastic crowd and by the anxious authorities.

The person who insisted most on the miraculous character of the event was Pius IX. The Senate of Rome commanded a three-days' service in Aracœli; and another, by order of the Cardinal-Vicar, was celebrated in all the parish churches. Nor were the congratulations of the Diplomatic Corps wanting. The first to present his felicitations was the Piedmontese Minister, who met with a chilly reception from the Pope. At that time a fierce struggle was raging between the episcopacy and the clergy of Piedmont on one hand and the government on the other, concerning the proposed laws for the suppression of

religious communities. Visitors to S. Agnese can see on a wall of the room where the accident took place a fresco, executed by the painter Toietti, containing portraits of the Pope, Antonelli, the cardinals, generals, and other chief personages all placed in impossible and almost ludicrous positions. The work is lacking in colour, and is full of mannerisms, especially in the figure of the Pope, kneeling in prayer. Thus April 12, the anniversary of the Pope's return, came to be associated with the anniversary of the miracle. The two events were commemorated together until 1870, affording, after 1859, a pretext for political demonstrations, which helped to console the Pope for many griefs the revolution had caused him.

The Pope's favourite excursion was to Castelgandolfo. In the freedom of the country his spirits revived, nor could he ever stay quiet a day. Expeditions and walks innumerable, on foot and on horseback, rarely by carriage, were the order of the day. A picturesque affair was the ascent of Monte Cavo. Surrounded by a numerous following, he rode up the mountain and returned on foot, stopping at Rocca di Papa to exchange familiar greetings with the priests and peasants, exciting their laughter by his anecdotes and witty sayings. The excursion always ended with a dinner. Seated on an elevated chair to distinguish his rank, he joined the community at their refectory tables, and, surrounded by his companions, he encouraged, by his jokes and amiability, the gaiety of his

hosts. Disdaining delicate food, he sometimes put in an unexpected appearance at dinner-time, to the confusion of cook and cellarer. He was no glutton, nor, on the other hand, was he an ascetic. He preferred simple, well-cooked food, and fresh water to wine. Pius IX. frequently entertained Ambassadors, cardinals, and even the Court of Naples at Castel-gandolfo, illuminating the place with Bengal lights for the pleasure of watching the various colours reflected in the waters of the Alban lake. On his drives he often halted at the Ponte di Ariccia, and was pleased at the expedition with which the work was being carried out. If, when walking, he was caught in the rain he would laugh heartily, making great sport of his Monsignori. Idleness bored him, but he sought amusements rather than sensations.

Remembering that he had been a bold and fearless rider in his youth, he loved excursions on horseback. One day, returning from Nemi, he rode without escort through the woods of Faioli, laughing at the fears of his companions. He went everywhere, to Marino, Grottoferrata, Frascati, Villa Barberini, and the Castle of Nemi, where a miraculous crucifix was the attraction. Nothing escaped him in his visits to churches, convents, and even cemeteries, and he nearly always left some small token of his visit behind him. One day he went to Porto d'Anzio, no easy journey in those days. Embarking on one of the two small boats used for the navigation of the Tiber, he proceeded to Nettuno and Astura, the port

artillery saluting meanwhile. He was greeted by the Princes Borghese and Aldobrandini, whom he invited to dinner. He was much interested in the condition of the sardine-fishing village, then abjectly poor, and he ordered the Minister of Finance to erect new dwellings in place of the miserable huts scattered on the seashore.

Amiability was his chief characteristic, and his manners were gracious. If he did not greatly esteem the Roman nobles and even tried to humiliate them, he knew how to be courteous, subtly flattering those who took his fancy. In his audiences with ladies he was extraordinarily gentle, and spoke with great nobility, united with a sympathetic insight. He was extremely careful of his person, bathing and shaving daily, as well as changing his linen of the finest *batiste*. He also arranged his hair with attention, and took singular care of his hands. He had a great weakness for eau-de-Cologne.

Not even with diplomats could he restrain the impulsiveness of his temperament, at the most adding a comic note to his outbursts of passion. At the New Year reception of 1864 he treated Meyendorf, the Russian representative, very badly, because he had asserted that the Polish Catholic clergy incited the revolution. The Pope, returning in great excitement to his rooms, declared himself well satisfied at having given a lesson to the representative of the Czar. He was very impulsive, and remained so to his end. It was confidently expected that Meyendorf

would receive his passport, but nothing happened, and in a few days the Pope had forgotten all about it.

The cares of State were borne by Antonelli, the real master and arbiter, who managed everything without seeming to do so or raising any suspicions in the mind of the Pope. Knowing Pius IX.'s character intimately and able to measure his weaknesses and resisting power, he never came into collision with either, nor provoked his anger, no easy matter with such an impulsive nature as that of the Pope. This was indeed the cardinal's great merit that, in the midst of such surroundings, he presented the only stable point of that long and dramatic Pontificate, and that he calmly surveyed the fall of the temporal power, whose existence he knew not how to prolong. A man of moderate powers, devoid of passions or ideals, without even a semblance of culture, he nevertheless did not lack foresight. He realised that the political Papacy was doomed, and was therefore quite convinced that nothing could avert the catastrophe due to the changes and conditions. He therefore left a free hand to the Ultramontanes after he saw that Pius IX. took their follies seriously. Perhaps he, too, had some illusions; but that touch of Roman scepticism which endowed the race as a whole with a substratum of good sense, and the precipitation of events after 1859, convinced him that resistance was useless, wherefore he let events take their course, not feeling assured, like Pius IX., that the Divinity would interfere. Neither a mystic nor an idealist, he

desired to enjoy life and accumulate a fortune, which, in fact, he did.

Born of humble parentage and having attained so elevated a position, he did not propose to lose it, and since he foresaw that his modest birth might prove an obstacle in his career he determined to ennoble his family and make it rich and powerful. In a society in which rank counted first and the old Papal families constituted a section of public authority, Antonelli grasped the necessity of becoming ennobled; consequently he caused the municipality to issue a decree bestowing the honour of Roman citizenship and nobility upon his brothers and himself as a recognition of his services as Secretary of State. Though not handsome, the cardinal was attractive owing to his sprightly manners, but when he spoke he betrayed his peasant origin. He was a worldling, in whom contact with Court life had refined his *bourgeois* tastes. His secretarial offices, where he received Ambassadors and ladies, were hung in blue and furnished in a style more suitable to a gay lady than to the Prime Minister of a Pope, and, still less, to an ecclesiastic. In his attire he endeavoured to hide his cardinal's distinctive scarlet. His magnificent carriages, built expressly to his order, were marked by an elegant simplicity devoid of the pomp, between monumental and *baroque*, that distinguished the carriages of the cardinals of that day. He reduced the harnesses to their smallest proportions, especially the enormous bows which habitually adorned the horses' heads. Nor did he refrain from gallant adventures,

less important, perhaps, than his position, which made all things possible, might have permitted. There were even some which led to posthumous scandals and law-suits, out of which Antonelli's character did not emerge unblemished. He often invited ladies to visit his beautiful flowers. Of roses and camellias he made a special cult, and had collected them in a fine garden, where he received with affability, presenting his visitors with splendid bouquets and showing them his collection of precious stones and fine rings, among which was one that had belonged to Napoleon I., which Napoleon III. presented to the cardinal. It was these receptions which gave rise to conjectures concerning the relations between the cardinal and these ladies. Although the possessor of twenty-eight decorations, not excluding that of SS. Maurizio and Lazzaro bestowed upon him by Charles Albert, he generally appeared at great functions in the simplest attire, except for the Cross of Malta, which he sometimes wore, as protector of the Order. He nearly always went out unattended, a habit that exposed him to assault, as was proved in June, 1855, when the Roman hatter, De Felici, a Republican and Carbonaro of the most advanced views, attacked him on the Vatican steps, hurling at him a double-pointed iron instrument. Thanks to the rapidity with which the cardinal avoided the blow, the instrument only fell at his feet. De Felici was tried and condemned. The attempt was proved to be devoid of any political object, and, but for Antonelli's inflexibility, the Pope would

have commuted the sentence. It was said that Antonelli assisted the widow; but, taking into account his hard nature, the truth of this report may be doubted.

His confidants were his *major-domo* and his valet. A fine portrait of him can be seen in the room of the Immaculate Conception in the Vatican, near to the Stanze of Raphael.

Two events of world-wide importance in the domains of art and religion occurred in 1853—54. On January 19, 1853, Verdi's "Il Trovatore" was first given at the Apollo Theatre. The success of the opera was immense, the *encores* and calls for the composer endless, and the execution admirable.

On December 8, 1854, after many and long deliberations, the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception was promulgated in St. Peter's in the presence of fifty-four cardinals, forty-two archbishops, twenty-three bishops, and several patriarchs. By Pius IX.'s order, the names of those who assisted at the event were engraved on two tablets inserted beside the Confessional altar in St. Peter's.

The festival on that day, sacred to the Virgin, was magnificent. After chanting the Gospel, first in Latin, then in Greek, Cardinal Macchi, deacon of the Sacred College, together with the senior archbishops and bishops present, all approached the Papal throne, pronouncing these words in Latin: "Deign, most Holy Father, to lift your Apostolic voice and pronounce the dogmatic Decree of the Immaculate Conception,

on account of which there will be praise in heaven and rejoicings on earth." The Pope replying, stated that he welcomed the wish of the Sacred College, the episcopate, and the clergy, and declared it was essential first of all to invoke the help of the Holy Spirit. So saying he intoned the *Veni Creator*, chanted in chorus by all present. The chant concluded, amid a solemn silence, Pius IX.'s finely modulated voice read the following Decree:

"It shall be Dogma, that the most Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instant of the Conception, by singular privilege and grace of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, was preserved from all stain of original sin." The senior cardinal then prayed the Pope to make this Decree public, and, amid the roar of cannon from Fort St. Angelo and the festive ringing of church bells, the solemn act was accomplished. Pius IX. then proceeded to the Sistine Chapel and crowned the Virgin's image. The magnificent festival, which was the prelude to that of the Infallibility, found a no less solemn echo in all the Roman academies as well as in all the seminaries of the world. Both festivals were the result of the Jesuits' exertions, and due to the boundless vanity of the Pope and his peculiar devotion to the Virgin.

On October 2 of the same year the first telegraph line from Rome to Terracina was inaugurated. With his insatiable curiosity, Pius IX., who was present, made the minutest inquiries of the director. He then desired to be put into communication with the

authorities at Terracina, transmitting to them and the officials in charge of the works his Papal benediction. He watched anxiously for a reply. When this did not come he said quite crossly, "The creature might at least answer with a *gratias tibi ago*." . . . The first line of communication with Tuscany was opened in 1857; but few messages were sent during the first two years, and the greater part came from abroad.

The first railway line laid in the Pontifical States was between Rome and Frascati, and it ought not to be forgotten that its inauguration was due to the Pope's initiative. In the neighbouring kingdom of Naples the main lines from Naples to Capua, from Cancello to Nola, and from Naples to Portici, were already in operation. This last line, opened in 1839, was the first constructed in Italy. The Papal States and Piedmont were the last Italian States to hear the whistle of the engine; but while the work in Piedmont, Lombardy-Venice, and Tuscany proceeded rapidly, that in the Papal States was only inaugurated in 1856. Pius IX. in no way shared the holy horror of his predecessor, Gregory, for railways. It was only the events of 1848—49 which prevented him from carrying out his good intentions. The Pontifical railways were not born under a happy star. The Board of Works, having built the station of Frascati in the open country, amid vineyards and cane-fields, was faced by a ruinous rivalry in the characteristic *barrozze*, which continued to ply between Frascati and Rome, as well as by the

continued use of vehicles and diligences, travellers finding it more convenient to take the latter in the centre of Rome and to be deposited in the centre of Frascati. While Frascati station was situated at a distance of three kilometres from that town, that of Rome was placed outside Porta Maggiore. Travellers were conveyed thither by means of an omnibus service.

The inaugural festivities, celebrated under a burning July sun, were preceded by a solemn *Te Deum* and the Pontifical blessing of the train. Notabilities filled the seats of the gaily decorated carriages. All were much impressed by the short tunnel. On the train's arrival, which on the first occasion did not take more than twenty-eight minutes, a rich banquet was served at the Villa Torlonia, during which a band performed a species of railway march, imitating the puffing of the engine, the grinding of the brakes, the noise of the train in motion, and the whistles and signals for departure. Inscriptions and commemorative medals honoured the event.

This same company, reorganised with new elements, mainly French, asked for and obtained the highly important concession to the Neapolitan frontier near Ceprano.

Two years previously, that is in 1856, the concession of the Rome-Civita Vecchia, and Rome-Ancona-Bologna lines had been granted to a Spanish company. About six hundred kilometres had to be constructed; but for the line of Rome-Civita Vecchia, a distance of

eighty-one kilometres, the government, refusing all competition, ceded all Custom dues for the necessary material and the rolling-stock, and offered a premium of one million provided the line was completed within a prescribed period. The illusions as to what this line would yield were indeed strange.

The works were inaugurated by Pius IX. in October of the same year. A commemorative stone recorded the event. After the inaugural ceremony was concluded, Monsignor Tizzani, in a sermon full of hyperbole, pictured the Church blessing all things that God had placed at the service of man, and exalted the wisdom and munificence of the Holy Father, who had always encouraged this rapid mode of transit, "to facilitate the means of conveyance for the faithful, from all parts of the Catholic world, that they may come and worship at the tombs of the apostles." The line was finished in less than three years, in order not to lose the promised premium of one million *lire*. The first journey took two and a half hours. The train was welcomed by festive cheers from the spectators, among whom were a large number of fishermen, who had come to show their loyalty to Pius IX. and to present him with some exquisite fish, of which the Pope was very fond. He gave his blessing to them, presenting them with a medal.

A railroad journey to the sea represented, for the Romans, the acme of enjoyment. An impression not soon to be forgotten was the sensation of crossing the bridge over the Tiber, a bridge made in England,

which lifted in the middle for the passage of ships. So awe-inspiring was this sight that few at first dared look from the train windows.

Thanks to the lines to Frascati and Civita Vecchia, the number of visitors to the Castelli, baths, and the seashore was augmented.

The Pope had promised to visit Civita Vecchia, on which account the company had a special, very luxurious carriage made in Paris, all gold and white, composed of a drawing-room, an oratory, and a dressing-room. Pius IX. accepted an invitation to inspect it. In the summer he went to Frascati in another carriage, also specially built for him, bearing several inscriptions. On the door, the words of Christ, "*Ite per mundum universum*"; inside, the words from the Book of Kings, "*Currus igneus, equi ignei, igneæ habenæ*"; and under the Papal arms, this text from the New Testament, "*Omnis vallis implebitur, et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur. Erunt prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas.*" This carriage also pleased the Pope, who smiled at the originality of the inscriptions, and this carriage was afterwards the one he most generally used.

In July, 1860, Pius IX. paid his official visit to Civita Vecchia, where he was enthusiastically received. He alighted at the palace of the delegate, while the *Immaculate Conception*, the only man-of-war of the Pontifical navy, saluted the sovereign's visit. Boarding a sloop, he inspected the new lighthouse and the dredges at work in the harbour. After

dinner, from the palace loggia, he assisted at a regatta, inspected the fort, and at 6.30 left again for Rome.

This same Rome-Civita Vecchia company had obtained the concession for another line, Rome-Ancona-Bologna, measuring about five hundred kilometres, to be completed in ten years, the government guaranteeing a minimum yield of ten millions for fifty-four years. But the complete deficiency of plans and the unforeseen technical difficulties caused the work to proceed slowly. Added to this, the financial embarrassments of the company, the quarrels among the engineers, and the incompetency of the administration, were such that even the easiest portion of the line, between Ancona and Bologna, proceeded with lamentable slowness.

When, in 1857, Pius IX., on his last tour of his provinces, noticed that at Case Bruciate, only about two hundred workmen were employed, and still fewer near Faenza, he was much annoyed, and, after his return, orders were issued to hasten the work. In 1856 the representatives of the five Powers concerned, Austria, Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and the Papal States, conceded to the Duke of Galliera the right to construct and make use of lines which should cross the Apennines and join the Tuscan lines at Pistoia. This work could not be charged with dilatoriness, for in 1857 the great bridge, of fifteen arches, over the Reno was almost finished. Pius IX., being at that time in Bologna, himself blessed the

pile. The fact was that, as far as the Pontifical lines were concerned, neither solicitations nor menaces availed, and in 1859 not one kilometre was yet opened to traffic.

Disputes grew violent between the government of Emilia and the company, because the former, more energetic, made greater strides with the work and opened the branch line between Bologna and Cattolica. But the financial difficulties of the company increased, funds were wanting, and the discussion between contractors grew so bitter that Lagout, the head engineer, a man not devoid of a certain wit, wrote to the general direction: "Le statu quo c'est le calme plat, au milieu de l'océan de l'incertitude, le calme plat c'est le manque de vivres, et la famine; la famine c'est le déperissement, jour par jour, des hommes du navire!" All this was underscored.

The entire line from Bologna to Ancona was opened in 1861, and in 1862 the entire line from Rome to Ceprano. It was expected that the Pope would be present at the ceremony of the opening of the Southern line, and, in consequence, the company made great preparations, with programmes specially printed and distributed to all the principal officials and *employés* on the line. The station at Porta Maggiore was richly decorated, and so was the inaugural train, composed entirely of first-class carriages. However, at the last moment, on account of torrential rains which had fallen the night previously, it was decided that the Pope would not come.

Monsignor Hohenlohe, assisted by a master of ceremonies and a number of chanting chaplains, intoned the *Te Deum*, and from the altar, especially erected for the purpose, gave the episcopal blessing. The train moved away at half-past eleven. At one o'clock it arrived at Velletri, which was thronged with a crowd of enthusiastic sightseers. Here they met the train from Ceprano. In the main room of the station, where stood a bust of Pius IX., a magnificent banquet was served, at which toasts were drunk. The Rome-Ceprano line, one hundred and twenty-three kilometres in length, united Rome and Naples. Although the speed attained was inconsiderable, the journey taking four hours, the one from Ceprano to Naples took still longer, owing to the delays caused by passports and Customs.

It is right, however, to remember that the Roman railways, almost from the first, were erected amid great unforeseen difficulties owing to political and economic circumstances. In 1859 the Pope lost most of his possessions, and yet by his contracts was obliged to continue the construction of the greater part of the railways in territories no longer all his own but divided between two hostile governments. Of the five hundred kilometres which lay between Rome and Bologna, only thirty-eight belonged to the Pontifical States. It was not till 1862 that the company, by making fresh sacrifices, could develop its lines, though they did so at a loss. But these bold measures brought still further disorders in their train, for all

the lines were more or less insolvent. Considered a foreign and even anti-nationalist company, because the administration had its headquarters in Paris and only representatives in Italy, it had a whole past of moral and financial incompetency to live down. The chief trouble, however, lay in the original concessions, for the Pontifical government had conceded to the companies the right of constructing the lines and using them for ninety-five years at their own cost, risk, and peril—with the right of redemption. The Rome-Bologna line had also been guaranteed a minimum gain of 10,000,000 *lire* for fifty-four years, to the Pio Latina one of 1,615,000, while at the same time the condition was imposed of redeeming the capital during the period of concession. The Papal government thought it had made a great bargain, whereas the company did what they liked, working badly, and bringing about their own ruin.

A mixture of thoughtless delusions and bad faith was the characteristic of these contracts, the government seeking to get all it could, and, on the other hand, once the contracts were signed, troubling no further about plans and statistics or even making an approximate estimate of the cost of construction and still less of the probable traffic. The railways, they seemed to think, were in some mysterious way to create commerce and wealth. The fact is most of the lines existed only on paper.

Such of the contracts as chanced to be satisfactory were not based on practical knowledge; the conditions

for the construction of the lines showed a deplorable ignorance of the details of working. The exemptions from Custom duties opened a door for fraud and peculation, in spite of the fact that an authentic proof was required for all goods passed.

The company were free to choose its own directors, engineers, and *employés*; though in every case these were subject to the approval of the Pope and his government. Rates, both for passengers and freight, were comparatively light.

Each line had its own station in Rome, barrack-like buildings reached by two outside staircases; but the construction of one general station at the Terme was undertaken at the same time. It was certainly a mistake, to use no stronger word, to concentrate all the lines at that height, and to add so much to the distance, obliging travellers and goods to cross half Rome to reach a place then situated in the open country. The fact that Rome would one day become the capital of Italy was entirely unforeseen; but it should have been foreseen that one station would, in the course of time, not suffice for the needs of the city. What was most unfortunate was the fact that the government had no eyes with which to see.

To these causes must be added one more, which gave the last tip to the scales.

The committee of the Spanish company had proposed to the director of the General Bank of the railways in France to raise capital, estimated at

175,000,000 *lire*, necessary for these great undertakings by means of bonds. The first bonds, issued in 1857, found a quick response in Paris among the smaller investors, such as laundresses and porters. The subscription in Rome was unimportant, although the shares were quoted on the Exchange: the chief buyer being Torlonia, who, at the same time, was threatening the Pio Latina line with legal proceedings, on account of its having trespassed on some of his land.

The Romans, while keeping an eye on what they could obtain in the way of employment, supply of materials, free tickets, etc., kept clear of the whole business. There was a rush to secure posts on the railway; the diplomats, members of the Sacred College, and the ladies canvassed actively for their friends.

The first issue of bonds netted 25,000,000 *lire*, a sum barely sufficient to cover expenses and meet various claims. The company, having decided to issue its first shares for the expenses of the work, was checked by the French government, which, in 1858, promulgated a decree forbidding all companies organised for the construction of foreign railways to issue bonds in France unless the capital was wholly unencumbered, a decree which completely changed the basis of the company and put an end to future operations. Endless efforts were made to obtain a repeal of this decree, but in vain, and much litigation followed on its heels.

The political situation had also changed, owing to the war in Italy and the revolution in the Papal States. In consequence of all these circumstances, some of which could not possibly have been foreseen, as an extreme measure it was agreed to amalgamate all the companies into one, an act which took place in 1860, under the name of *Società Generale delle Ferrovie Romane* (*The United Company of Roman Railways*). A contract was soon after signed with a Spanish banker, to whom was due the opening, in 1862, of the Rome-Ceprano line, and, in 1866, of the Rome-Orte-Falconara.

The vicissitudes of this company are a large part of the still unwritten history of Italian railways. In 1864—65, other lines, including those of Leghorn and Central Italy, consolidated with the company. The Italian government strained every nerve to raise sufficient capital to satisfy old and new *employés*, and in 1873 redeemed the central line. The law of January, 1878, sounded the death-knell of this company.

In spite of sermons and exhortations from their confessors, all efforts failed to put down, or at least, to limit, the burden of usury borne by the people. Various expedients were tried, the only practical one being the suggestion to open branch offices of the Monte di Pietà for the receipt of small objects in pawn, and to exempt from all interest advances below the sum of one *scudo*. The Pope, who laboured

under the delusion that this measure would save the distressed from the devouring maws of the usurers, was not in a position to judge clearly the utterly miserable condition of a city whose charitable resources, known and unknown, were never equal to the demand. It was this certainty of obtaining assistance that formed the basis of the outrageous interest extorted by the money-lenders. The three branch pawn-offices (*montini*) did nothing to change the economic conditions of the poorer class, who were almost all averse to labour, still less did they alter anything with regard to the money-lenders. The conditions became even worse, for numbers of the worst sort of usurers, intermediaries and so-called *apprezzatori*, haunted these *montini*. It is an open question whether the benefit outweighed the new evil.

Medals for merit were bestowed upon provision merchants of honest reputation—the baker Nuzzi, for example, received a large gold medal, bearing the word "*Benemerenti*" inscribed upon it, because he had lowered the price of bread. It was a whole system of making much out of little, of flattering paltry vanities, and though it also revealed the beneficent mind of the Pope, it was useless, since he could not possibly have intimate acquaintance with the needs of a city, where living was only possible owing to the cheapness of provisions, modest demands on life, and that spirit of resignation which left the morrow to take care of itself.

CHAPTER X

ART AND ARTISTS

IN the society of the day artists constituted a special class that was distinguished, open-hearted, and easy-going. They had no club, but the Café Greco, in Via Condotti, became their traditional headquarters. Here they carried on their lively and high-flown discussions. Situated in Via Condotti, halfway between Via Margutta, where were the studios and the Life School and the Zio inn in the narrow Strada Tomacelli, the Greco was an elegant resort as compared to the Zio with its three large rooms, of which the first served as a meeting-place for the discussion of business by the coal merchants, while the second and third were used as refectories by artists. There were oil-lamps suspended from the ceilings, walls covered with drawings, primitive benches, and the linen was only washed, perhaps, once a week; and yet what life, what abundance of food could be had for a few *baiocchi!* The proprietor, called Zio, or Uncle, by all, was easy-going with his young patrons, giving them credit, regardless of risk, though they belonged to the most numerous and poorest class of the cultivators of the arts.

The artist's life was, therefore, much restricted. The Institute of Fine Arts was at Ripetta, as it is to-day. Painting was taught by Podesti, sculpture by Tenerani and Tadolini, architecture by Guaccerini and Sarti. The ancient Academy of San Luca, entrusted with the teaching of art and the custody of the monuments, possessed an endowment, chiefly due to legacies, which, with further help from government, paid the small salaries of the professors. There was also the old Academy, called "Virtuosi of the Pantheon," founded in 1481, that is still in existence; it occupied, then as now, a few dark and mysterious rooms in the campanile of that church. Its purpose was the guardianship of morality in art. The Academy of San Luca and the Virtuosi awarded pensions and purses, as the result of public competitions, and dowered girls. It participated in all the public functions and receptions of the cardinals, represented by members wearing a uniform of white trousers, coats richly embroidered in gold and silver, cocked and plumed hats, and swords.

The Life School, in Via Margutta, was kept by an old retired model, named Gigi, of whom it was said that when posing for Christ Crucified he would remain bound for many hours, and when the students, thinking him exhausted, would have released him, he only cried out: "Go ahead! Go ahead!" Whenever the students discovered that the police had sent disguised spies to this studio, the only one for male nude models in Rome, they fell upon them vigorously

and kicked them out. The artists of the State, in order to remain in Rome, required cards giving them leave of residence, that had to be renewed every fortnight, and to swear an oath of fealty to the Pope.

The artistic society was international. The young men pensioned by their various governments were lodged in the buildings belonging to them. Those unsupported by any government or academy were very numerous, and if many led hard lives, preferring the inn of *Zio* and even cheaper hostelries to boarding-houses, others, owing to private means, lived comfortably and well. Of these Fortuny was an instance. In any case, however, the life of an artist in those days was freer than it is now, for if their professors always appeared in frock-coats and tall hats, the students arrayed themselves with the utmost extravagance, and all their vagaries were excused on the ground of their being art students. Requiring little, for all lived in a small way, they could be lodged for three *scudi* a month, and eat for twenty *baiocchi* a day. It was perhaps easier to sell pictures, but the average of prices was low, and, if the quantity sold was larger, it was not because strangers were more plentiful, but because no traveller considered his journey to Europe, or his visit to Rome, complete unless he acquired at least one modern picture, preferably a landscape or a copy of some renowned and ancient master.

In those days Rome boasted about twenty sculptors' studios; to-day there are many more, while those for

painters abound. Photography was making its initial essays, but did not give the least suspicion of its future perfection. The vulgar oleograph had not yet appeared, and engraving, because of its cost, was not much patronised. The governments and religious corporations patronised art, but prices were low; there were no annual exhibitions, and the fever for the acquisition of ancient and modern works of art had not yet developed. Also the arts had in those days no great representatives — with the exception of painting, which counted in its ranks Celentano, Fortuny and Fracassini, all of whom died young.

Mariano Fortuny, born in Catalonia in 1838, a student of the Spanish Academy, at eighteen carried off the first prize with his famous picture, "A Marriage at the Vicariate of Madrid." Accompanying Prim in his expedition to Morocco, and thus enlarging his horizon, he was inspired to paint his masterpiece, "The Snake Charmer," and returned also with a portfolio full of studies. Besides being a water-colourist and an etcher of no mean merit, he was the first to paint drawing-room subjects—small pictures, wonderfully drawn, restrained, but brilliant in colouring—which he sold for thousands of francs. His influence, felt throughout Europe, was extraordinary, affecting even the masters; for example, Morelli, but more especially the younger men. He also excited the critics, who maintained that his art was soulless and superficial. When he died, at the age of thirty-six,

he left behind him a quantity of drawings and studies which fetched fabulous prices.

Sculpture evinced a commercial rather than an artistic spirit. Reproductions of Biblical, mythological, Pompeian or romantic subjects were the order of the day. Adamo Tadolini, Canova's favourite pupil, was old, and, after the equestrian statue of Bolivar, made for Lima, and the David, one of the four statues of the monument of the Conception, in Piazza di Spagna, he produced nothing equal to "St. Paul," outside the Vatican basilica, and the "St. Francis de Sales," that stands within, both executed by order of Charles Albert. Tadolini's death, in 1868, preceded by a year that of Tenerani, of whom he was a worthy rival.

An organisation of Guelph gentlemen, under the presidency of Prince Orsini, commissioned Tenerani to execute the monument for Castelfidardo, a task accepted with alacrity, and for which he prepared sketches. His original idea was, in his own words, "a statue of the Divine Redeemer receiving the souls of those noble men who fell at Castelfidardo in defence of their religion and the rights of the Holy See, fighting against an enemy which far outnumbered them." But the monument, on account of the feeble health of the artist, for his end was approaching, had to be left to his pupils to execute. It has recently been placed in the chapel of Santa Severina in the church of St. John Lateran. Although judged an exquisite but soulless modeller, Tenerani had

founded a school, and was the only Italian sculptor who attained wealth, for in the matter of money-making the foreigners proved greater adepts than the Italians.

Story, the American, lived in grand style in the Palazzo Barberini, and Gibson, an Englishman, one of Canova's pupils, who died in 1866, left a considerable fortune, estimated at two million *lire*. He was a purist, lacking in originality, and his most noteworthy work was "Phæton." Very poor when he came to Rome, he led a life of penury. He was also avaricious, a failing common to sculptors, but generally speaking, unknown among painters. A regular frequenter of the "Greco," he was seen there every morning. He lies buried in the Protestant cemetery, at the foot of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius.

It was the artists who organised the Carnival and the masquerade of Cervara. The latter, after 1849, that is, after the return of the Austrians into Lombardy-Venetia, ceased to be celebrated because it was under the patronage of the German artists. It was only in 1860 that it was revived, and with so much pomp that it was resolved to perpetuate its memory by inscribing on parchment the names of all who had participated in it. The German Artists' Club now own the document. After the war of 1859, harmony being restored between the Italian and German artists, this Cervara festival was chosen to seal the bond of friendship. It was a strange sight. All Rome thronged to the Porta Maggiore to see the

return of the revellers. The police, however, forbade the cars to enter the city, and their occupants were forced to return on foot.

This masquerade was yet another relic of old Rome. Descriptions of the revels can be found in numerous books. Of historic memory, too, is the mock chivalric order of "Baiocco" or "mezzo baiocco," with which Thorwaldsen was wont on great occasions to adorn his coat, and in whose ranks King Louis of Bavaria, having taken part at one of the feasts, begged to be numbered. This order was bestowed upon the generals, cavalry, and donkey commanders of Cervara. The masquerade, with its weapons of wood and blades of tin, was a military affair, having different grades of officers, including a staff with a commanding general. Soothsayers were consulted before eating and drinking, and before returning to Rome. Women took no part in this festival; nymphs, sibyls, odalisks or heroines of antiquity, were represented by men, each artist was either a warrior or a lady, as his fancy dictated. The last Cervara festival took place in 1873, but it fell very flat. It was self-evident that the Rome of Cervara, of the "Barberi," and the "Moccoletti," was a thing of the past.

In April, 1857, in the monastery of S. Onofrio, occurred the touching ceremony connected with the unveiling of the monument, erected by Pius IX., in honour of the third centenary of the death of Tasso. The poet's remains were transferred from its modest

tomb to the monument executed by De Fabris, a production much criticised because of its theatricality. It was a most successful ceremony, Monsignor Milesi, Minister of Public Works, Prince Orsini, Senator of Rome, and all the dignitaries of the Vicariate, ascending the steep hill of S. Onofrio to assist at the exhumation. The proceedings were registered in a special book, signed by all present, and then enclosed in an urn. In the amphitheatre, where stands the ancient oak-tree, the Academy of the Quirites held an extraordinary meeting. Professor Bonanni pronounced the inaugural discourse, Torlonia recited a much-applauded composition, and Domenico Gnoli declaimed a fine and appropriate poem. The crowning glory, however, was reserved for Giannina Milli, who proved herself an extemporary poetess of high merit. While the gallant Cardinal Gaude advanced to pay her his compliments, Cardinal Altieri gave voice to some curious remarks of a slanderous nature that gave intense amusement to the bystanders.

Two great artists visited Rome in these years, Liszt in 1862 and Gounod in 1869. Gounod was enjoying a pension from the French Academy at Villa Medici, having won the Grand Prix de Composition Musicale in 1839. A religious sentimentalism urged him to enter holy orders, but a short sojourn in the Roman Seminary sufficed to change his views. Returning to Paris, he married and revisited Rome in 1869, as the guest

at Villa Medici, of M. Hébert, Director of the Imperial French Academy, on which occasion he occupied the room Galileo inhabited on his second visit. He lived a retired life, but desired to assist at the Holy Week ceremonies. For Pius IX. he composed a march performed by military bands on the steps of St. Peter's, in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of the first Mass said by the Pope. Although Gounod appeared enthusiastic about the Pope, no great faith was placed in his sentiments. He was treated with coldness because the Vatican world saw in him the Mephistopheles of "Faust." He rarely visited the theatres, preferring the society of some Roman professors whom he judged to be good musicians. He left Rome in the summer never to return.

When Liszt first came to Rome, in 1838, he was very young. He frequently attended the ceremonies in the Sistine Chapel, drawing inspiration from the music of Palestrina and other great masters of sacred art. Returning again in December, 1861, after his fame was firmly established, he brought letters of introduction from the Grand Duke of Weimar, addressed to the Duke of Sermoneta.

Though he could hardly be called handsome, he was a man of vigorous appearance, marked features, and searching and imperious glance. He wore his hair long and full, and was clean shaven. His connection with Princess Caroline Sayn de Wittgenstein, who had preceded him to Rome, in the hopes of

hastening the annulling of her marriage in order to legalise their union, was already well known. This Polish Princess was one of the eccentrics of Roman society. Born a Catholic, at seventeen she had married Prince Wittgenstein, a Protestant and many years her senior. In 1847 she fell violently in love with Liszt when he came to Kiew to play at a concert. They met again at Odessa and other places, and in 1848 she left Russia, after having realised one million roubles of her dowry, and with her daughter followed Liszt to Germany. Their ardent love is revealed in their correspondence. The Princess, not yet thirty, fantastic, expansive, vivacious, highly cultured, and passionately adoring music, was completely under the influence of Liszt, who wrote her letters whose sincerity is open to doubt. He kept nothing hidden from her; his correspondence lays bare his life, his most intimate thoughts, his vanity (that was so large a part of his nature), his fancies, repentances, imperiousness, his small flirtations, his artistic companions, his natural children, all were confided to his friend. One day he begged the loan of sixty dollars to lend Wagner, about to undertake a journey. His published letters cover the correspondence of thirteen years. It was no secret in Roman society that this rich, cultivated, but eccentric lady, as soon as her marriage should be annulled, wished to marry Liszt. When the annulment was pronounced she made all preparations for the wedding. For some unknown reason Pius IX. refused his consent to this marriage.

Prince Wittgenstein dying two years later, the Princess was at last free, and once more the marriage was held to be imminent, when suddenly Liszt vanished from the world, and in April, 1865, entered a monastic order. After that he dressed as a priest, and issued visiting cards with: "L'Abbé Liszt, au Vatican."

Between 1861 and 1865 Liszt paid several visits to Rome. In 1860 the Princess, then nearly forty, could no longer be called beautiful, but she was pleasing and full of charm, and she still lived only for and through Liszt. She read and wrote much. She visited antiquities, galleries and museums; she frequented the University, spending long hours in conversations with the professors; she visited theatres but rarely, and only the Apollo whenever Prince Torlonia placed his box at her disposal. She preferred to assist at religious ceremonies, and would spend entire weeks in retreat in some convent of strict rule, by special permission of the Pope. On her return to the outer world she gave lively descriptions of convent life, and when, on the eve of her wedding-day, Liszt, with the evident intention of avoiding a marriage with her, retired to the Vatican, she knew how to bear the blow with dignity. In spite of his egoism, her love for him never diminished, and she always spoke of him with enthusiasm. Among her visitors was Cardinal Antonelli, who twice a month paid her his respects. Her residence in Rome covered twenty-seven years, during which time she

never once left it; living in darkness in summer, her house being hermetically closed, with only one lighted candle standing on her flower-laden table where she read, wrote, and ate her meals. The friends who called were received thus. She would say to them, "Well, you may find my mode of life very strange, but I scoff at the sun, that source of all heat. Here I am at Rocca di Papa." She always ended by laughing at herself, for she was a witty woman. If sometimes she drove out beyond the gates, either before or after sunset, she would declare that the streets were worse than ovens. Sometimes, also, she went out on moonlight nights.

In Rome, where he gave several concerts, Liszt maintained his reputation as an inexhaustible producer of rhapsodies, symphonies, oratorios, and variations; but as a pianist he failed to awaken the morbid enthusiasm he had excited in Germany and France. He was not much liked, either because of his *blague*, or his tendency to a curious erotic capriciousness. Posing as a conqueror, he would, with provocative glances and disdainful words, tender or mystic, begin a compromising flirtation with any woman who took his fancy and whom he took the liberty of embracing freely. He was sensual and sentimental, romantic and prosaic, according to circumstances, but never modest; nevertheless, he possessed a great fascination for the fair sex, many of whom fell a prey to his love-making and fascinations.

In Paris he had aroused such a species of fanaticism

that people cut locks of his hair while he was performing, apparently without his knowledge, robbed him of his gloves, which he generally laid on the piano, and one day of his hat and cane. In Rome nothing similar occurred. On the contrary, one young noble, for instance, perceiving that he was paying court to his wife, informed him that his visits were no longer welcome.

Liszt never took full priest's orders, but he always wore the habit. After leaving the Vatican he wandered from monastery to monastery, in order, it was rumoured, to prepare himself for the Sub-deaconship. During his stay at the monastery of Rosario, he received a visit from Pius IX., who had not forgotten how, one day, during Liszt's visit of 1864 to Castelgandolfo, he had been so stirred on hearing the artist play the "*Casta Diva*," that he had gone up to the piano and hummed the famous air of Bellini.

His favourite pupil, Sgambati, then a very young man, also used to visit him at the monastery of Santa Francesca Romana. To him he confided the direction of his Dante Symphony, given in the Dante Hall, in 1866, and was so satisfied that he presented him with an ebony baton, on which were engraved Sgambati's name and the date of the concert. Later, in 1867, Sgambati directed another symphony, "Christ," in honour of the centenary of St. Peter.

The strange way in which Liszt entered holy orders, together with his relation to Princess Wittgenstein (never broken off), gave rise to some indiscretions

which revealed the existence of two natural daughters, born of the Comtesse D'Agoult: Blondina, wife of Emile Ollivier, and Cosima, first married to Hans von Bulow and afterwards divorced to marry Richard Wagner. Liszt was received in the *salons* of the Caetani and Rospigliosi with respect, but without enthusiasm; the airs he gave himself as a *poseur* and a conqueror of women's hearts alienated the sympathies of many. No one dared ask him to play. Whenever Onorato Caetani saw him coming into the room he closed the piano. He was less peevish at the Rospigliosi. Still, despite all his defects, his conversation was always interesting as he had met all the most eminent men of Europe, and was not always silent concerning his love affairs. He never contradicted the report of his *liaison* with Mademoiselle Duplessis, whom Dumas *fils* immortalized as the "Dame aux Camèlias," and Verdi in his "Traviata"; or of his having spent a season with her at Compiègne. Dressed as a priest he continued, even after 1870, to visit the Polish Princess, who, in spite of the fact that he had become old and fat, swallowed with difficulty, and suffered from indigestion, still raved about him as before.

Not to be compared with those of Liszt, but interesting for their musical value, were the concerts given in the Sala Dante during Lent by celebrated Italian and foreign masters. Ramaciotti, Sgambati, Furino, and Pinelli had founded a Quartette Society, and their concerts were true feasts of art, like those

of the Roman Philharmonic given in the Palazzo Pamphyli in Piazza Navona. Among the celebrities who visited Rome in those years were Rubinstein, and Thomas, harpist to the Queen of England, who both achieved enormous successes.

There were two schools for singing—that of San Salvatore, which supplied the Vatican chapel, and that of Santa Cecilia, not, however, to be compared to the Santa Cecilia of the present day, one of the few and flourishing new Roman institutions.

In those days there was no advertising of artists, except by recommendations, and these were chiefly addressed to Princes, Court dignitaries, also to the principal hotel-keepers, who, in their own interests, disposed of most of the tickets. A special public, notable for its air of resignation rather than for a look of pleasure, supported these concerts. In the world of to-day all this is changed. The Sala Dante no longer exists. It certainly had several drawbacks; it was cold in winter and dark, had an inconvenient entrance, but it was in the centre of the town. After all these years, with so many new buildings, Rome possesses no hall suitable for concerts or meetings, with the exception, perhaps, of that of St. Cecilia. The old halls of the Roman College and the Nazzareno are the only places used for these purposes, rooms that are cold and bare and with mediæval appointments. It is much to be hoped that this want will be supplied by the great edifice which is being erected to the memory of Victor Emmanuel.

CHAPTER XI

THE PONTIFICAL JOURNEY THROUGH THE PROVINCES

THE Pope, desirous to give the lie to the accusations brought against his government, determined to visit the provinces lying on each side of the Apennines, reaching its extreme limits, Ferrara and Ravenna. It seemed imprudent for him to go beyond the Misa, and still more for him to visit Bologna and Ravenna, where the impression produced by the assassination of Count Francesco Lovatelli, six months before, was still fresh in men's minds. Therefore it was announced that the journey had the nearer goal of the Sanctuary of Loreto, with a possible prolongation to Senigallia, which the Pope had not visited since his election to the Papacy. Pius IX., however, desired to brave the extreme parties and the moderate Liberals, whom he dubbed "Costituzionali," and was not to be moved either by considerations of prudence or by fear.

The Austrian garrison, practically maintaining a state of siege, and the Pontifical police, stood as

guarantees for order. The Secretary of State, on his part, to avoid every pretext for demonstrations or undesirable requests, gave stringent orders to delegates and governors absolutely to prohibit any extraordinary meetings of municipal councils. At the same time, deputations arrived in Rome from various places to entreat the Pope to make a stay in some of the principal towns of the provinces. Bologna presented the first invitation, and the Pope promised to visit "his dear Bologna." The delegates from Imola, Ravenna and Ancona, which sent three deputations, were also reassured with promises; to Urbino alone Pius IX. replied that, while he would do his best, he could not bind himself to push his journey so far.

This journey was the first made by Pius IX. He had been born on this side of La Cattolica, and had once been Bishop of Imola, so he was well acquainted with the conditions of the Legations, but only from an ecclesiastical standpoint.

Austria still dominated in the Legations and the Marches, and, if executions had become rarer, the state of siege still continued. Also, if the anarchy, of which these provinces were the bloody theatre from 1848—56, had been repressed, the repression had been the leaven of hatred and vengeance in such proportions that, had Pius IX. been able to read the public mind, he would have realised that the desires of all might be summed up in the cry: "Better be under the Turk than under Rome."

The secular spirit of the ruling classes, the character

of the race, and the new horizons opened up by the Crimean War and the Congress of Paris, revealed how slight was the tie which bound the provinces to Rome, a state of things demonstrated, two years later, when the Austrians took their departure. Therefore, from the point of view of Cardinal Antonelli, it was good policy to forbid extraordinary meetings of the municipal councils and to give the Gonfalonieri and magistrates to understand that the more modest and discreet the petitions presented to the Pope, the more likely were they to be granted and put into execution. None that hinted at administrative and, still less, at legislative reforms, none that were reminders of the unfulfilled promises made by Pius IX. before his return, or by Louis Napoleon in his letter to Colonel Ney, none, in fact, that referred to politics, would be considered.

The Pope had no intention of exhausting himself in efforts to discover the needs of the people; his object was to hurry through the towns, cleaned and decorated for the occasion, journeying by short stages in a comfortable carriage, surrounded by soldiers and ecclesiastics, by crowds of pious and applauding peasants, visiting monasteries, churches, and sacred spots, and provoking those demonstrations which delighted him and which he imagined would wipe out all dislike to his government.

The public spirit in Romagna had undergone some improvement. Nevertheless, Count Pasolini, in a letter written about this time, gave utterance to these

words of serious import: "I see the evils of our land increase to gigantic proportions, and even the good become instruments of evil."

On May 4, 1857, the Pope, after hearing Mass and kissing the foot of the Prince of the Apostles, left the Vatican accompanied, as far as the monumental carriage, into which he mounted, by his *major-domo*, his chamberlain, the Palatine cardinals, the Ministers, and the Vatican chapter. This enormous carriage, which combined all conveniences and was drawn by six horses, may be still seen in the Pontifical stables. Prince Massimo, Director of the Post Office, was in charge of the *cortège*, which looked like a procession owing to the number of carriages containing the Pope's chaplains and suite. The Noble Guards escorted the Pontifical equipage, which was also accompanied beyond Porta Angelica by General Goyon. No Minister was of the company in order that undesirable demands from the Pope's subjects might thus be avoided.

That same evening the august traveller reached Civita Castellana; on May 5, Terni, where he remained but two hours, so anxious was he to arrive at Spoleto, which place he had not seen since 1832, when, as archbishop of that diocese, he had been sent to Imola. In Spoleto he spent the night, and was much feasted, and on the seventh day he set out for Foligno and thence to Assisi. The first solemn entry took place on the eighth day, at Perugia. The commandant, a man of artistic taste, and a Papal

fanatic, planned arches, loggias, decorations, and illuminations; transforming the fortress into a hall, in whose centre stood a plaster statue of the Pope. The Pontifical delegate, who wished to obtain praise, furnished the money, collected from the municipalities and other corporations.

The Liberals thought it wisest not to provoke protests, but rather did all in their power, though in vain, to quiet the ardour of the rural population. The demonstrations at Assisi were not excessive, but became enthusiastic as he progressed from Ponte S. Giovanni up the picturesque road leading to the summit of the hill of Perugia. Peasants, grouped according to their parishes, headed by their priest, had gathered from all parts of the valley, and cries of welcome and requests for the Papal benediction arose from every side. At the gates of Perugia the Pope was met by young Charles Salvator, second son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had come as the representative of Leopold II. to welcome him. The Pope lodged in the historic palace, to-day the seat of the municipality. All along the road the bells of all the churches rang out a welcome, and their clanging almost drowned the bands as well as the isolated cries of applause. When the Pope reached the cathedral, the Piazza was thronged with a crowd awaiting the Papal benediction.

Shortly afterwards Pius IX. appeared on the balcony of the palace, and then a shrill cry of welcome fell with distinctness on every ear. It came

from a country priest and it was followed by some clapping on the part of his flock. The next day the Pope, accompanied by the bishop and the delegate, visited the sights of Perugia, the Pope inviting the Tuscan Prince and the town authorities to dinner. On his departure a handsome volume containing pictures of the historic monuments of Perugia was presented to him.

The next day the Pope proceeded to the Marches, stopping at Foligno. From thence he reached Loreto, where he was received with such enthusiasm that the people attempted to unharness the horses and draw the carriage up through the hilly town. On May 16 he went to Fermo; there he rested, and on the morning of the 18th left for Ascoli, where the young people of the best families, wearing white and yellow scarfs, scattered flowers beneath triumphal arches. After raising the Cathedral to the dignity of a basilica and distributing various small gifts and decorations, Pius IX. proceeded to Ancona and Senigallia, where he had made all the arrangements for himself and his suite, informing his brothers that forty beds in all would be ample.

At Senigallia he was received with deferential respect. On the morning of the 27th he celebrated a *requiem* Mass for the souls of his parents, and with his own hands administered the Sacrament to the members of his family. Afterwards he received informally his old parishioners, who brought him gifts of fruit and flowers, and bestowed the Cross

of the Order Piano upon his brothers and nephews. From Senigallia the Pope proceeded by way of Fano to Pesaro, where the young Archduke Maximilian, Viceroy of Lombardy-Venetia, awaited him to render homage, and also deputations from San Marino and Cesena. The latter place he reached on June 2.

The Gonfaloniere, Angelo Ghini, had published a prolix manifesto, in which he announced the Pope's arrival, adding that "to comfort the magnanimous and merciful heart of His Holiness, the municipality had decided, in order to alleviate the poorest classes, to restore free of cost such pawned objects, not exceeding twenty-five *baiocchi* in value, as should be found in the Monte di Pietà on the day of the Pope's arrival. In Cesena, as in all the principal towns, the Pontifical visit was accompanied by small acts of charity, carried out by the municipality at its own expense.

On his departure the Pope left three hundred *scudi* for the poor, and a cope of silver tissue to the Cathedral; he bestowed various decorations, and distributed some dozen "*papetti*" fresh from the Mint to children, who, dressed as angels, offered him flowers, saying to them: "Receive my likeness in my memory." At Cesena it was observed that the Pope brought his own Hosts and sacrificial wine, perhaps for fear of some attempt at poisoning.

At Forli a triumphal arch, bearing a fulsome inscription, had been erected on the Piazza. A rumour was current here that the Pope, at the moment of his appearance on the balcony of the

Palazzo Communale, was greeted with hisses. The truth was that some one in the crowd, attempting to start applause, had his top hat smashed on his head, and at once desisted from his efforts. At Faenza three provincial administrators of Ravenna renewed the request that the Pope should visit their town. Arriving at Imola, June 7, Pius IX. was greeted with devout effusion. Marchese Pallavicini awaited to greet him in the name of the Duchy of Parma. Here he had his first political talk with Count Giuseppe Pasolini, with whom he was very frank.

"I have seen the magistrates of all the country," he remarked to Pasolini, "they have spoken to me of local needs, and these I have done my best to alleviate. Not one has spoken of reforms in government." But what else could have been expected after the order had been issued that the magistrates were to confine themselves to local demands and abstain from any suggestions of reform? When Pasolini replied: "The need of such reforms will be fully demonstrated to your Holiness at Bologna," the Pope burst out: "There, there exists the quintessence of Liberalism"; adding, "if the Liberal governments chose to resemble that of Piedmont they must become anti-Christian and, in the end, disgust the greater part of the population." This answer plainly showed his repugnance for every civil amelioration and his characteristic aversion to Piedmont. The better to confirm this we will add the words in which he took leave of Pasolini:

"I do not desire a radical change, that would require an army. A burnt child dreads the fire. The Piedmontese newspapers which I read are depriving me even of the pleasure of bestowing pardons or granting reforms." But these proud words, far from discouraging Pasolini and Minghetti, on the contrary, only excited them to enter upon the struggle with renewed strength.

On June 9 the Pope made a solemn entry into Bologna, Marchese Luigi da Via presenting him with the keys of the city. Bologna was considered the second most important city of the State, and in consequence the official reception had to outshine that of all the other places. Along the road outside Porta Maggiore, stands were erected for the convenience of spectators; the tickets of admission, purple in colour, bore the words: "For the solemn entry of our Father, Pius IX.," the number of the seat, the arms of the city and a lion rampant, with the motto, "Libertas." The Pope entered the town, accompanied by Cardinals Corsi and Vannicelli. The Austrian troops lined the way, the Pontifical guarded the Piazza San Petronio. Though not enthusiastic, the reception was cordial. Descending at the Palace of the Delegate, to-day the Prefecture, the Pope at once received the Lieutenant of the Venetian provinces and the General in command of the Austrian forces in Italy, also other commanders and generals and numerous staff officers. Bologna had never entertained so many important personages. The arrival

of the Duke and Duchess of Modena, King Louis of Bavaria, the Duchess-Regent of Parma with her sons, the Grand Duke of Tuscany with his family, the Duchess of Berry and Comte D'Alte, Minister of Portugal at Turin, followed in quick succession. Carlo Boncompagni, Minister of Sardinia, a great friend of Minghetti, also came over from Florence.

The two ex-Ministers, Minghetti and Pasolini, finding themselves once more in the presence of their sovereign, did not let the opportunity escape of insisting upon the necessity of civil reforms. Pius IX. objected on the grounds that the demands were excessive, and referring to 1848, fenced ably with Minghetti concerning the foreign occupation. His answers were evasive, but not without good-natured acuteness. His superficial mind could not penetrate beneath the surface, nor could he understand the gravity of the observations made, not without courage, by Minghetti, Pasolini and Montanari. His first interview with Minghetti ended with the following conversation. Pius IX.: "*Signor Costituzionale*, God bless you." Minghetti: "Your Holiness, I accept that title frankly, and I can only regret that my ideas find no echo in the mind of Your Holiness." Pius IX.: "The world is too greatly agitated; the moment inopportune; the reforms are not possible." At the conclusion of the second meeting, the Pope remarked almost sadly: "And you, too, my dear Count, are leaving me." Pasolini replied: "No, Your Holiness, it is not we who leave you; it is you

who leave us." In his conversation the Pope did not refrain from making severe charges against Piedmont. "The Piedmontese," he said, "are dominated by anti-religious ideas and wish to conquer all Italy."

He could not conceal from himself the fact, realised also by Ferdinand II. of Naples, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Dukes of Modena and Parma, and more than any of them, by the Court of Austria, that the real danger came from that quarter. So well aware of this was the Pope, that, in a conversation with Minghetti, losing all self-control, he uttered these bitter words against Piedmont: "Religion is persecuted there, and the Church is spared no outrage! The King, poor man, had better be threshing corn! Rattazzi is a Minister without religion; Cavour has genius, but I doubt his being more religious!"

The Congress of Paris had done much to increase Pius IX.'s aversion to Piedmont. His animosity towards it was such that on the occasion of his reception of Boncompagni, who was charged by Victor Emmanuel with the mission of paying the Pope special homage, he seized the opportunity of showing his feelings publicly by selecting almost the same time for bestowing his Papal blessing upon the Austrian troops. By that arrangement the Sardinian Minister, who had to drive across the Piazza, was the unwilling spectator of the whole proceedings.

It was soon discovered that the addresses asking for reform would never be allowed to reach the Pope. The petition from Bologna, containing urgent

demands for administrative and legislative reforms, signed by a hundred of the chief citizens, was entrusted to Senator Da Via, but he lacked the courage to present it to the Pope. Minghetti found an opportunity to speak of these petitions to the Pope, but Pius IX. replied: "The people are not to be contented. The experiences I have had have been too sad." "This foreign occupation is a humiliation for Italy," returned Minghetti, "it is a stain upon the dignity of the government." "You are right," replied Pius IX., "you are right. But what can be done? It can only be reduced gradually." "As long as one single Austrian soldier remains in the Legations, I blush with shame," returned Minghetti. "Your Holiness ought to have an army of your own large enough to maintain peace and order." The Pope made no answer, but wrote to his brother from Bologna, referring to the two parties opposed to him: "The first, extreme and sanguinary, does not disturb me in the least; the second, more fox-like and deceitful, at times annoys me." He added: "I have seen Minghetti, and have told him that he is one of the leading enemies of the Pontifical government in Bologna." The truth was he feared the Constitutionals, but could not bear to confess it, and feared them knowing them to be tools of Cavour, whose policy became more manifest daily. Minghetti, relating this conversation, which was the last he had with Pius IX., wrote in his Memoirs: "The die is cast. All hope has been in vain."

The approaching dog days did not prevent the Pope from carrying out the programme of his journey. July 2 he left for Modena, where he remained two days, returning to Bologna and leaving again on the 10th for Ferrara, where, says a chronicler, "the festival was stupendous and extraordinary." What with triumphal arches, flowers, statues, illuminations, and concerts, the municipality spent about 180,000 *lire*, the Pontiff himself being surprised and moved "at such an enormous expenditure." He visited monasteries, churches, and pious institutions, blessing the native and Austrian troops, and lodging in the archbishop's palace. In the evening he was to have blessed the people, but scarcely had he appeared on the balcony when a violent earthquake scattered the alarmed populace and the blessing remained unspoken. The next day Pius IX. left for Bologna, well satisfied with his reception at Ferrara.

The most difficult section of the programme, on account of the heat and the political situation, was his stay in Ravenna. Up to the last, efforts were made to dissuade the Pope from this visit, but his courage and a certain spirit of defiance, joined to the persuasions and assurances of the archbishop and delegate, conquered all hesitations.

At that time, at Ravenna, the trial for the assassination of Count Lovatelli was in progress, an affair wrapped in mystery, terror, and intrigue. The victim had been one of the conspirators of his district prior to 1848, and his death, the treacherous work of a

secret society, had been heard of with grief even in Rome, where Lovatelli counted connections among the aristocracy. Time after time the Pope had expressed the wish that the case should be hastened to its end, but his wish, although perhaps platonic, remained unfulfilled, for, owing to the length of the proceedings, nothing was concluded. Two years later, the change in the political situation in Romagna, led to the liberation of the accused.

After a short stay at Lugo, the Pope arrived at Ravenna on the 23rd, where he remained two days. On the morning of July 24, the feast of St. Apollinare, the patron saint of Emilia, he held a Papal Chapter in the Cathedral. Crowds of peasants had poured in from all parts of Romagna, filling the town with cheers and shouts. The municipality had prepared a reception in accordance with the wishes of the Pope; bands, banners, festoons hung from the windows, and the distribution of a number of small charities aroused the people's enthusiasm. The Porta Adriana had been restored for the occasion at a cost of several thousand *scudi*, and upon a pedestal which surmounted the gate stood a colossal statue of Pius IX. in the act of blessing. The Ravennese epigraphs outshone all others in bombast. One inscription read thus:

"Terra Sonat Plausu Laetis Micat Ignibus Aether Litore ab Hadriaco Suspicit unda Pium."

Another:

"Pontifex Uno Pius Minor est Deo."

There was no lack of gifts offered and poetry written for the august visitor.

The Pope also paid a visit to the tomb of Dante, entering the little chapel almost timidly, reading the inscriptions, and remaining for some time buried in thought before the poet's bust. When the visitors' book was presented and the Pope was begged to sign his name, he hesitated, then, conquered by the insistence of his suit, he wrote that most significant verse from the eleventh canto of the "Purgatory":

"Non è il mondan rumore altro che un fiato
Di vento, ch'or vien quinci ed or vien quindi,
È muta nome, perchè muta lato."

So, it seems, he was not greatly moved by this visit, or by these recollections: Dante, the "Divine Comedy," the Papacy, all were to him as a "puff of wind" (*fiato di vento*).

The Pope bestowed his Papal benediction from the balcony of the palace, amid the cheers of a vast multitude, mainly peasants in characteristic costume. An exhibition of fireworks from the docks followed in the evening. After visits to the chief monasteries and to the Academy of Fine Arts, the Pontiff took his departure at dawn on July 25, leaving a relatively small sum for charities and distributing some silver medals. The municipality honoured the event by the gratuitous restitution of small advances on objects

pawned and by the bestowal of dowries upon a number of poor girls.

In 1857 Ravenna numbered little more than 53,000 souls, of whom 11,000 dwelt in the town. The post from Rome and Lombardy arrived four times a week. This city, once the capital of the Western Empire, once so powerful, was not included in the railway concessions, and was joined to the network only in 1858, through the unceasing efforts of Pasolini, then Gonfaloniere.

On August 17 the Pope began his homeward journey, proceeding from Bologna to Florence. At the frontier he was met by the sons of the Grand Duke and by the Nuncio. Leaving at dawn to avoid the great heat, he arrived outside the Porta San Gallo in the afternoon. One halt had been made on the road to allow the august traveller to rest. The place selected was the Villa Capponi, but Marchese Gino, not having given his consent, the offer made by Gerini for the use of his villa, "Le Maschere," was accepted.

Preceded by a large and spectacular retinue and headed by a cross-bearer on horseback, the Pope made a triumphal entry into Florence at five o'clock. In order that the Grand Duke might sit at the Pope's side, an ecclesiastical title was, then and there, bestowed upon him. Pius IX. entered Santa Maria del Fiore to the chant of "*Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*," and towards evening he reached the Pitti, amid the enthusiastic shouts of a great multitude.

It was noticed that but few of the great Florentine palaces were decorated, and also that the majority of enthusiastic applauders were people from the country. At the Pitti Pius IX. received the Diplomatic Corps. During the few days he spent in Florence he assisted at the laying of the first stone of the new façade of Santa Croce; visited Pistoia, Prato, and Pisa, and left for Rome August 24, stopping on the way at Volterra, where he had received his early education. There he met some old friends with whom he talked gaily of the days of his youth.

After an absence of four months it was not without pleasure that the Pope approached Rome, which he reached on September 5, being met at Tor di Quinto by Cardinals Patrizi and Antonelli, the Ministers and other dignitaries. Exchanging his travelling carriage for a gala coach, preceded by an outrider, General Goyon riding at the right-hand door, he reached the Ponte Molle, where a triumphal arch had been erected and where he was received by a salvo of artillery. From the Ponte Molle to the Piazza del Popolo, the streets were lined by a curious and noisy crowd, and the characteristic cry: "The benediction, Holy Father!" was shouted on all sides. The Porta del Popolo was decorated with great festoons, the bells clashed a welcome, the guns fired salutes to announce the return of its sovereign to the city. The thinly-crowded Piazza S. Pietro seemed to chill the enthusiasm. Upon the church steps stood the Vatican Chapter and the Diplomatic Corps. The Pope, descending,

thanked all present, then, followed by his numerous train, he entered the Basilica, prayed at the tomb of the Apostles, kissed the toe of St. Peter, and then with quick step ascended the Stair of Constantine, and returned to his own apartment. To celebrate his return the municipality distributed tickets for a hundred and twenty thousand pounds of bread and seventy thousand of meat, and also bestowed two hundred *scudi* upon poor Jews, besides expressing the wish that all imprisoned debtors might be set free by the last of August.

The Board of administration of taxes cancelled the last five years' arrears upon horses in favour of the cabmen, and the lessee of the fish market conceded ten dowries to poor marriageable girls, the Savings Bank gave thirty, and the Society of Railways one for every parish. Double rations and wine were served out to prisoners; a charitable lottery was drawn at Prince Borghese's villa; the Tuscan residents ordered the chanting of a solemn *Te Deum* in the church of San Giovanni.

This journey was not only barren of political results, but went far to alienate the last hope of reconciliation between those desirous of reform and those at the head of the government. The Pope at Bologna appeared to be the mere prisoner of Austria. Whether it was narrowness of vision, or the artifices of those surrounding him, or an obstinate determination to shut his eyes to the things most evident, it is certain that he had not even the slightest suspicion

of the truth in regard to the political and economic conditions of the provinces he had visited and of the perils of a general insurrection the moment the Austrian troops should be withdrawn. In a letter to his brother he writes:

"DEAR BROTHER,—You are right, the journey is over. At Ravenna, Lugo, all went not only well, but very well. At Ravenna I had long talks with the respective magistrates. Not one asked a thing he had no right to ask. In accepting the requests I reserved to myself the right of seeing if the public treasure were equal to the demands which, in the entire State, would amount to one million and a half or perhaps more. God bless you and yours.

"PIUS P.P. IX."

While the Pope deceived himself into thinking that none of the magistrates had asked any unwarrantable concessions or expressed any desire for political reforms, he appeared to ignore the fact that his government had forbidden the magistrates to accept any addresses treating of reforms. Where the prohibition was infringed, as happened in Rome, the addresses either became a dead letter or gave rise to rigorous proceedings against the promoters.

In the two years which elapsed between the Pope's journey and the loss of the Legations, railway enterprise and other State affairs proceeded at a speed anything but rapid. It was a worn-out government, which unconsciously went forward towards its end; a

government no longer capable of looking after itself, but striving between the two protecting Powers—Austria, whose help was required to retain in subjection the provinces beyond the Apennines, and France, to protect Rome and its patrimony. A clash between the two Powers, and the fate of the Papal States was decided. The Pontifical government oscillated between two fears. It would certainly have preferred to free itself from these inconvenient patrons, but the conviction that Piedmont was laying snares, and supporting the revolution, blinded the Pope and his Prime Minister to the real facts of the situation.

CHAPTER XII

THE RAPE OF YOUNG MORTARA—THE JEWS IN ROME

IN 1855, at Bologna, a seven-year-old Jewish child was kidnapped from his parents, amid the despairing cries of his family and the emotion of even the police. The child, Edgar, was the son of Girolamo Mortara Levi, a well-to-do, honest and much respected man. This event, which stirred the whole world and plunged a family into deep despair, obliging them eventually to quit the Papal States, resulted from the levity of a servant girl, who had served the family five years. It so happened that little Edgar, when eleven months old, fell dangerously ill, and Annina, overcome by scruples, unknown to the parents, baptised the child with common water, thinking to perform a meritorious action.

Unfortunately at the same time the new archbishop, Viale-Prelà, had arrived at Bologna, bringing into the diocese an exaggerated fanaticism that almost revived the spirit of the Inquisition. He found a hearty co-adjutor in the person of the Dominican Inquisitor of the Curia. The archbishop's inquisitorial mania went

Padre Edgardo Mortara.

to such lengths that, on Fridays and Saturdays he sent emissaries to suspected houses to spy out if meat were being cooked. In such an environment it was inevitable that a storm should burst over the house of Mortara. The Dominican father, informed of the baptism, in his turn informed the archbishop, and both agreed that they should send the news to Rome, whence came an imperative order to remove the child at all costs from Bologna, and intern it in the Catecumeni. A delay of twenty-four hours in the execution of this order was the only consideration shown to the family, but all exits from the house were closed lest the child should be spirited away.

As it was thought at first that, strange as the affair appeared, it was but one of the customary oppressions to which Jews in the Papal States were subjected, the other Jews of Bologna, to circumvent the act, raised a considerable sum of money. This money offer, however, proved useless, and on June 24 the boy was torn from his parents and placed in a closed carriage between two *gendarmes*, who smothered his cries as they dashed away at furious speed. The little boy had to support the long journey uncomforted by the presence of any woman or relation. Arrived in Rome he was consigned to the care of the rector of the Catecumeni, re-baptised, and dedicated to the priesthood. At his second baptism he received the name of Pius, Edgar being retained in the second place. To-day he is Father Pius Edgar Mortara, regular Lateran canon, and apostolic missionary.

The whole world echoed with the clamour of this heartrending case. Cavour made it the subject of lively comment in the diplomatic world, the newspapers of Piedmont, France, England, and America inveighed against the cruelty of the Pontifical government. Napoleon III. was stirred profoundly. The Mortaras came to Rome, and Girolamo obtained an audience of the Pope and another of Cardinal Antonelli. They were polite but immoveable, though they permitted him to see his son, then in the College of Alatri. Mortara repaired thither with his wife, but scarcely had they seen the boy than they were obliged to fly to escape the fury of the peasants, who had been made to believe that the two Jews had come with the intention of killing their son, now a Christian. After infinite trouble, indescribable anguish, and pecuniary losses, the Mortaras went to Turin.

The whole Hebrew world of Europe was stirred with the tremendous agitation, and the Emperor Napoleon insisted upon the restitution of the boy to his family, but nothing was done. The Catholic papers, with extreme violence, insisted in their turn that the rights of the Church superseded that of the father in respect of minors of Hebrew parentage baptised without the consent of their parents, while the Liberal press pointed out the striking inconsistency of the doctrine, for why had there been a second baptism, why did not that of the maid suffice? If the Church recognised the first as valid and as

authorising the abduction, why was the second ceremony considered necessary? In his heart Pius IX. was disquieted concerning this new incident, which raised such a storm of accusations against him and his government, rendering them odious in the eyes of the world. To this were added bitter and ill-considered controversies started by the clerical and Ultramontane newspapers. The battle became acute, and the peevish and impulsive Pope, ascribing all this turmoil to the account of Piedmont and the Liberals of Bologna, of whom since his visit the previous year he had not retained an agreeable memory, remained insensible to every feeling of mercy.

It was only natural that Cavour availed himself of this event to diffuse yet darker reflections upon the anomalies of the Papal temporal power existing in the full blaze of the nineteenth century.

The relations between Piedmont and the Holy See were abruptly broken off.

The rape of the Mortara child also furnished the theme for a sensational drama, entitled "A Hebrew Family," which had great success in Rome in the early days after the liberation, provoking characteristic cheers and bursts of protests against the priests. Indeed, at last, to secure public order, the performance was forbidden.

In his famous pamphlet on the "Emancipation of the Jews," Massimo D'Azeglio speaks of the Roman Ghetto, with its narrow, pestilential, crowded houses

and streets, where a population of 3,900 persons thronged a restricted quarter, capable of containing only about half that number. Without distinction of sex, age, condition or health, the people lived on every floor, sometimes even in the attics or the underground holes which in happier homes served as cellars.

Such was the Ghetto in 1870, and such it remained until its demolition. To-day the quarter, replaced by villas and the splendid synagogue, can scarcely be recognised. Its boundary was the church of S. Gregorio. As a mockery of the Jewish population, on its façade, under a fresco representing Christ Crucified, may still be read the Psalm of Isaiah in Hebrew, with the Latin translation: "Expandi manus meas tota die ad populum incredulum, qui graditur in via non bona post cogitationes suas; Populus qui ad iracundiam provocat me ante faciem meam, semper. Congregatio Divinæ Pietatis Posuit!"

Where the magnificent synagogue now stands was the most crowded and unclean section of the Ghetto, the demolition of which was a work of social necessity. The Jews, as is well known, were forbidden to live outside the Ghetto, and they had little reason to desire a change of residence, more especially as they enjoyed certain privileges, among them an ancient right of hereditary lease called *jus gadzagà*, which prohibited the landlord from raising the rents. This was one of the expedients devised by the Pontifical government against the raising of rents, which,

previous to 1870, were lower in Rome than in any other city.

The first Hebrew to open a shop outside the pale was Isaac Pacifico, who undertook in return for the privilege to pay ten *scudi* a year to the parish of S. Maria in Via. Samuel Alatri, too, the most notable figure in the Israelite world, had an office outside the Ghetto, but when he wished to transfer it he had to obtain the permission of the parish priest and to pay a large sum. The parish priest had full authority, and, if he thought fit, was at liberty to order the Jews back into the Ghetto. Yet all this was nothing compared to the Christian prejudices and oppressions of the Pontifical government. If, during the last years, thanks to the milder sway of Pius IX., the sad scenes in which the Jews were the victims were no longer enacted, nevertheless, many other oppressions were still practised. For example, it was forbidden to a Christian servant to serve in a Jewish family; young Hebrews were only admitted into the University if powerfully recommended, and then only allowed to study medicine, besides swearing on receipt of their diplomas that they would only attend Jews.

Worse prejudices lingered among the aristocracy. No Jew was received in aristocratic *salons*. Nevertheless, when, in 1864, Baroness Natalie de Rothschild came to Rome and occupied a princely suite of rooms at the "Hôtel de Londra," she was received by the Caetani, invited to the Rospigliosi ball and dined

at the Massimo, and all titled Rome flocked to her receptions.

Gradually the Jews, too, overcame their prejudices, such as refusing to pass under the Arch of Titus, and lighting no fire on Saturday, though it could be done by a Christian servant. The custom also died, which had lingered among the older Jews, of walking out beyond Porta Portese, in expectation of the arrival of the Messiah. The distrust between the races slowly disappeared, and the legend as to the Hebrew usurers was set off by the presence of numerous Christian vampires. The Jewish women, on account of their ability as seamstresses, embroidresses, and upholstresses, were much in request, particularly in patrician households. The men continued to show an invincible aversion to certain occupations, refusing to become carters, field labourers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, and dustmen, preferring the profession of trader in its many variations, including the lucrative, if humble, occupation of the old clothesman. There is no record in Rome, prior to 1870, of a Jew entering any other liberal profession than that of medicine. In fact, in past ages, Innocent VIII., as well as other Popes and cardinals, had had Hebrew physicians, which goes to prove that when health is concerned all prejudices vanish. It must be added, also, that the Jews were conscientious and intelligent physicians. If the intolerance towards the Hebrews was carried to extremes there was little tolerance either for other religions. The Pope refused his consent to the

erection of a Protestant Church, permitting one only outside the Porta del Popolo, in a species of granary. There being no British Embassy, the numerous English were obliged to frequent this one church, outside whose doors the police lurked, keen to arrest any non-Protestant who might enter, conducting him either to do penance or to be shut up for a few days in the New Prison. The other Protestant Legations had only their own private chapels in their apartments. During his term of office, General Rufus-King, Minister of the United States of America, to the great scandal of his landlady, arranged a chapel in one of the large rooms of the Palazzo Salviati. Until then (1866) the Americans had attended the English Church.

The manifestations of intolerance were most frequent on the occasion of marriages. Count Ferdinand Cibo, of the Noble Guard, in order to marry a rich Protestant American, had to leave Rome, and it was only after his wife had changed her religion that he was allowed to return and serve once more under the colours of the Guards. Emmanuel Ruspoli could only return to Rome after the death of his first wife, Princess Vogorides, and his brother Paul, who also married a Protestant, was only able to return under the new *régime*. In order to marry the Russian Minister, their sister Francesca was forced to leave Rome for the purpose.

The ceremonies of abjuration, to which much spectacular grandeur was given, were not infrequent. Some took place every year, especially on Christmas

Day at the moment of the elevation of the Host in St. Peter's. Nothing seemed to move Pius IX. so deeply as these ceremonies, which he regarded as a triumph of the Catholic faith, and it may be that he really was sincerely affected by them.

CHAPTER XIII

THEATRES AND NEWSPAPERS

THE theatrical season coincided with the Carnival, and began the day after Christmas and ended on Shrove Tuesday. There were performances on every evening excepting on Fridays and on Candlemas and its vigil. The chief opera house, the Tordinona or Apollo, while not as beautiful nor as large as the finest in Europe, compared favourably from the standpoint of art traditions. A species of legend enveloped the *impresario* Vincenzo Jacovacci. A good Papal subject and a good Catholic, he skilfully made use of the police to keep his troupe in order, especially his *corps de ballet*, and knew how to control the caprices of dancers and singers. He himself had experienced the severity of the police when, at the first performance of Donizetti's "Adelaide," he had sold more tickets than the theatre could hold, and had been arrested in consequence and his intake sequestered. He was liberated the next day after paying a fine of one hundred *scudi*. After his death, at an advanced age, the theatre that had been his kingdom for half a century was demolished. It is to

his credit that he fulfilled every engagement. When the Tiber overflowed, preventing access to the theatre, he was quick to order a movable bridge, and amused himself greatly as he watched the arrival of his clients under these conditions. Though as shrewd as any *impresario*, he was never accused of dishonesty. The opening of the Apollo was certainly the great social event of those days, and splendid were the jewels of the ladies of the aristocracy and of the "*generone*," though with wide difference in taste. The Governor occupied the centre box, and rarely missed a performance.

The *gendarmes* and firemen, in full-dress uniform, had charge of the interior. After the first act the doors of the boxes of the second and third tiers were opened and refreshments were handed round by servants in uniform.

The proscenium boxes were called Fossa dei Leoni, where the beaux of the day, nicknamed "The Irresistibles," congregated. The second tier represented high life; the third, the rich citizens or *generone*; and the fourth, the lay *employés* of the Ministries, the municipality and the ecclesiastical congregations. Priests were forbidden to frequent the theatres, but they went dressed as laymen, and occupied the last tier. The social classes were thus differentiated even at the Apollo, nor would Jacovacci have tolerated an infraction of this custom in the letting.

The last eight days of Carnival, four *veglione* were permitted, two at the Apollo and two at the Argentina

The first occurred on Giovedì Grasso, beginning at eight and ending at eleven out of respect to Friday; the second began at midnight on Friday and lasted till six on Saturday morning. It was called *festino a notte lunga*. The third began at midnight on Sunday and lasted till six a.m. The last, that began at eight on Tuesday and ended at half-past eleven, came to be regarded as the most fashionable, for the middle classes were at the time engaged with their suppers, a meal the aristocracy took later. Either dress-clothes or masks were obligatory. These gatherings were rendered pleasant by the spirit and good manners of the participators, the ever-vigilant police ejecting any who overstepped the mark. Sometimes extremely clever masks puzzled the whole room.

A box in the first tier cost little less than a thousand *lire*. The Orsini, Colonna, and Torlonia were the only patrician families who had boxes entirely for their own use, the others had to be content with a half or even a quarter. A seat in the pit cost sixty *baiocchi*, standing room forty.

When, after 1859, the price was raised a trifle, poor Jacovacci was pronounced a thief.

One of the most memorable events in the Italian theatrical annals occurred on February 17, 1859, when the first performance of "Un Ballo in Maschera," by Verdi, was given at the Apollo. It was keenly looked forward to, and, despite an overflow of the Tiber that made the streets almost impassable, the crowd was great. Public interest had been

aroused concerning the opera which had followed closely upon "Trovatore," "Rigoletto," and "Traviata," by the fact that when it had been prepared in Naples under the title of "Gustavo III." the censors had so mauled it that Verdi declined to allow its performance. Jacovacci had hastened to Verdi's rescue, and, without further ado, suggested giving the opera in Rome, where less annoyance would be met with from zealous or pedantic censors. It seemed incredible that permission refused in Naples should be granted in Rome. Jacovacci, however, was convinced he could overcome all opposition, and showed it by engaging off-hand the tenor, Fraschini, whom Verdi considered necessary to the opera's success. He departed with the *libretto*, and promised to secure the necessary permission from the Pontifical censor within eight days.

He obtained it, but not for two months, and then on condition that the scene should be changed from Stockholm to America, and the masked ball should be given for one Conte Renato to assassinate the Earl of Warwick, governor of Boston, and not for John James Ankarstroem to assassinate Gustavus III. of Sweden.

The Papal censors were less exacting than those of Naples, who feared to displease Napoleon III. by approving after the Orsini attempt, of a *libretto* whose plot involved the murder of a reigning sovereign. The Papal censor altered the names but not the theme, and Verdi was satisfied.

The success was overwhelming, and provoked a

simple ovation, although the performance was by no means perfect.

The "Valle" was the dramatic theatre. At the Capranica plays took turns with acrobats and jugglers. At the Metastasio Stenterello alternated with Pulcinella. In April, 1850, the Valle opened with a company of which Adelaide Ristori formed a part.

Through her marriage, contracted with Giuliano Capranica, against the wishes of his family, Ristori had become the Marchesa Capranica del Grillo. However, after her Parisian triumphs had reached the ears of her husband's family, they could not boast enough of the connection. Other members of this company, which brought much success to the Valle, were Tommaso Salvini, Amilcare Bellotti, Vestri, and Fantecchi, a group of unrivalled talented young artists such as few travelling companies possessed. When staying in Rome, Ristori lived in her newly acquired house in Via Monterone, the house in which she also died. Each of her appearances was an event; the theatre was always crowded; the seats in the pit, costing fifteen *baiocchi*, were seats in name only, for the benches were extremely narrow. But the discomforts of those days were *nil* compared to ours. The theatre, lighted by oil-lamps, was only darkness made visible; the scenery was wretched. People went to the theatre for love of the art, to weep, to be moved, and to applaud Ristori and her fellow-actors. From that season Ristori's fame became world-wide.

The Valle had no subscribers. There was only one "*bacaccia*," that of the French Ambassador, where members of the Embassy went to perfect themselves in Italian. The first box on the left was occupied by the police, and in the third tier the Vicariate were in attendance "to superintend the decorum of the performances." The play began at seven. All theatres were closed the first day of Lent, to open again at Easter for a spring season, which lasted until Whit-Sunday. With the exception of the Corea, built into the magnificent mausoleum of Augustus, where day performances in the open-air were given by good companies, the theatres remained closed in summer.

The Romans, who did not leave Rome during the heat, after a good meal and a good nap, repaired to the Corea. It often happened, however, that in the midst of the play the bells of San Rocco would toll for a death or a *novena*. Then the play would be suspended amid characteristic swearing on the part of the spectators.

The autumn season began in October, but the companies were strolling ones, and seldom remained longer than a month. The Tordinona was only open during the winter. In the spring, plays including music and ballets, were often given at the Argentina. At the Metastasio Vitale, under the disguise of "Pulcinella," drew large audiences. Roman dialect plays amused the populace. The dialect theatre has now almost disappeared.

In the summer of 1863 the Neapolitan company of San Carlino, directed by the inimitable Pulcinella Petito, visited Rome. During their performances the theatre was frequented by the Neapolitan Court and all the royalist emigrants of the Two Sicilies. To please these noble and august spectators the company, with questionable taste, made fun of Italian affairs. In consequence, on their return to Naples, they were greeted with hoots, catcalls and missiles. Petito, in his costume of Pulcinella, had to implore mercy, while the women actors screamed loudly and the men were paralysed with terror. The theatre was closed and only reopened some days later when Pulcinella, the actors and the *impresario* made a public declaration of patriotism. Although it was known that this disturbance would take place, the police did not interfere.

In 1859 and 1860 the theatres were the chief and most fruitful fields for patriotic demonstrations. At a benefit performance for an actor named Savoia, at the Alibert, the public indulged in cries of "Viva Savoia!" and a shower of small tri-coloured leaflets fell from the gallery. There was also heard the cry of "Viva Italia! viva Vittorio Emmanuele in Campidoglio!" On another occasion at the same theatre, chiefly frequented by students and artists, "Gl' innamorati per andare in carcere" was performed. In this play some young men, enamoured of the gaoler's daughter, tried every means to get arrested and be put in prison. They insult the

passers-by, but no one minds them, they hit an old man in the face, he only thanks them because they have knocked out an aching tooth, they finally extract a revolver and shoot down the first comer. The police appearing, they give themselves up as murderers, but, when the body is examined, it is found to be that of a noted brigand, wanted by the authorities, and, in consequence, the murderers are thanked and rewarded. The poor lovers, not knowing what to do next, appeal to the audience to tell them how to get arrested. "Cry 'Viva Vittorio Emmanuele!'" rang from the gallery, and the theatre nearly collapsed under the applause.

At the Argentina, Pulcinella, in one of his parts, had to kill a pig. On inquiring whether it should be white or black, the audience cried "Black! black!" and Pulcinella was arrested. The "Foscari" was prohibited on account of the last scene:

"*Cedi, cedi, rinunzia al poter!*" ("Give in, give in, renounce dominion!")

In a musical sketch, "Chi la dura, vince," at the Metastasio during the duet,

"*O povero Giovanni,*
Di te che mai sarà?"[1]

the whole house burst into loud applause. It must be remembered that Pius IX.'s name was Giovanni. The play was forbidden by the police. "Trovatore" just escaped being taken off the boards, because one evening, when the warriors of the Conte di Luna

[1] "Oh poor Giovanni, what will become of you?"

chorussed their desire to plant the banner "*di quei merli sull' alto*," cries were heard of "*Gaeta, Gaeta!*" "Traviata" was no longer permitted because of the applause that greeted the words, "*La tisi non le accorda che poche ore di vita*" ("Consumption only permits you a few hours of life").

The censorship carried matters to a ridiculous pitch. The name of the ballet "Bianchi e neri" was changed to "Giorgio il nero," but as disturbances occurred nightly until the moment when the slaves cast off their collars of servitude, it was forbidden. To break up the performances at the Tordinone recourse was had to the trick of sprinkling the company with invisible showers of euphorbia at a critical moment, causing them to sneeze, cough, and rush into the fresh air. One evening at the Valle, when an actor had to say: "*Ma che volete mai sperare da un uomo che si chiama Giovanni?*" ("Whatever can you expect from a man called Giovanni?") the applause almost brought down the roof. The same thing occurred when Auber's "Muta di Portici," mutilated and renamed "Pescatore di Brindisi," was given.

In the translation of "Diane de Lys," the words "*ordinate i cavalli*" ("Order the horses") were suppressed because, as the censor remarked, only priests are "ordered" (*ordinati*). Such are a few instances of the stupid trivialities remembered by those alive at that time.

In "Macbeth's toast" for the words "*Si colmi il calice*," "*Si colmi il nappo*" were substituted; and

"*Al suon dell' arpe armoniche*" ("To the sound of harmonious harps") was put in the place of "*Al suon dell' arpe angeliche*" ("To the sound of angelic harps").

Pius IX., from whom nothing remained hidden, on being asked one day which way he desired to drive, answered, "Outside Porta Armonica," instead of Porta Angelica, and burst out laughing. At Christmas, 1860, the canons of St. Peter, fearing a Liberal demonstration in the Basilica, omitted to chant the antiphon, "*O Emanuele rex et legifer noster, expectatio gentium et salvator earum, veni ad salvandum nos.*"

The only paper issued daily, except on Fridays and festivals, was the *Giornale di Roma*, which dealt with the official economic and political life of the Papal States. It registered the appointments of priests and laymen—even the most insignificant, police notices, government communications, death sentences of the military courts, Consistories, with the special allocutions of the Secretary of State, and the dispositions for a general disarmament of the inhabitants when some sensational murder had been committed. If no such news was available, the official acts of the other Italian States, and especially those of Tuscany and Naples, were copied from their respective official sheets, but not a word was said about the people, not a word concerning the economic condition of the State. There were short notices of religious festivals, and a bare announcement of secular ones. Each day the names of foreigners arriving or departing were

registered in the *Giornale di Roma*, the Neapolitans were called "subjects of the kingdom," the kingdom being that of Naples. It also registered the arrival, departure, and death of important personages, and sometimes noticed the theatres. It announced without a word of regret the death of Spontini, who expired at the age of seventy-seven, leaving all his property in charitable bequests. He had founded the rich Monte di Pietà of Jesi, was a member of the Institute of France, Count of St. Andrew, and Musical Superintendent-General of the King of Prussia. The *Giornale di Roma* was small in shape and well printed on good paper. It contained also the political communications of the Secretary of State, and polemics with Piedmontese papers, which lost no occasion of falling foul of the Pontifical government. Such polemics did not often occur, the Papal government being more philosophical than that of Naples in dealing with the attacks of the Liberal Press, whether Piedmontese or foreign, and never committed the mistake of engaging adventurers, or of charging *employés*, to enter the lists with their accusers, like the Neapolitan government after the Gladstone letters to Lord Aberdeen. The Pontifical government was never ingenuous in these matters, its replies were printed sometimes in the *Civiltà Cattolica* and sometimes delivered from the pulpit. Father Curci, in a series of polemical sermons, stated that the theological virtues were five, not four, the fifth being a hatred of Liberals without truce.

During the last twenty years of the Papal *régime* only literary, technical, and religious papers were published. The only political journals were the *Civiltà Cattolica*, more vigorous and polemical than ever, the *Correspondance de Rome*, the organ of the French Legitimists, printed in the *Camera Apostolica*, and published once a week. To these in latter years was added the *Osservatore Romano*. The only legal paper, bearing the pompous title of *Giornale del foro*, was issued irregularly whenever any special need arose; the same applied to the medical review, *Giornale Medico di Roma*. A good technical weekly periodical, *Giornale delle Strade Ferrate*, appeared first in June, 1857; it was well got up and furnished business, exchange, and railway information, beside some valuable scientific articles, and interesting meteorological observations.

A small review, *Cronichetta Mensuale* was published by the homœpaths; the most important contributions were accounts of discoveries in natural science. The leading literary paper, and certainly the oldest, was *L'Album*, first published in 1838, which ran until after 1860. It was a weekly illustrated sheet. There were several religious journals, among them the *Vergine*, a weekly dedicated to the glory of the Mother of God; the *Divin Salvatore*, a weekly dealing with local affairs, and the *Eco del Divin Salvatore*, a Sunday sheet. The *Veridico*, also a weekly, was the organ of priests and monks, dabbling in politics, and so was the *Vero Amico del Popolo*.

The *Osservatore Romano*, founded by one of the Noble Guards, was the first really political and polemical paper, a product of new and stormy times. Surviving the wreck of the temporal power, it became, after 1870, the official Vatican organ, and although it has passed into other hands, notwithstanding changed times and circumstances, it is still faithful to its original purpose.

CHAPTER XII

THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH IN 1859

THE year 1859 seemed to promise better things. Napoleon's New Year's message to the Emperor of Austria stirred and excited young and old. Hence from the standpoint of Roman society it was the most brilliant of the last twenty years of temporal power.

The government at its outset adopted a tolerant attitude; masks, allowed for three days only during the past year, were once more permitted during the whole Carnival. Among the visitors were many reigning and hereditary Princes, including the Prince of Wales, who, attended by Odo Russell, Colonel Bruce, his tutor, Mrs. Bruce and Captain Grey, was received on February 7 by the Pope. The following day he ascended the cupola of St. Peter's, and on his descent found that the Secretary for the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* had prepared a lunch for him in the sacristy. During his three months' stay, this Prince, then but seventeen, mixed little in society, amusing himself chiefly with hunting, theatre-going, and the Carnival.

A special box was built for him at the corner of Via della Vite, from whence he threw flowers and handsome gifts. On the occasion of his first visit to Rome as King Edward, many memories of his earlier one were recorded, among others the fact that the severe Bruce refused to allow him to take part in the "*festa dei moccoletti*" from the balcony of Palazzo Fiano until Queen Victoria's consent was obtained by telegram. The Prince made all the customary excursions, went regularly to the Tordinona, was present at the first performance of the "Ballo in Maschera," and made the acquaintance of Verdi. He visited galleries and the University, and even the School of Anatomy.

During his sojourn King Victor Emmanuel bestowed upon him the Collar of the Annunziata, sending it him by Massimo D'Azeglio, who had not entered Rome since 1848.

Other visitors were the Marchese Cesare Alfieri di Sostegno, President of the Piedmontese Senate, and Marchese Gustavo di Cavour. Marchese Cesare had requested an audience of the Pope, but was refused on the ground of his Presidency of the Subalpine Senate. Gustavo Cavour, on the contrary, was granted an audience; on receiving him the Pope, in joking tones, remarked, alluding to the disturbances in Emilia and Romagna due to the belief that war was imminent: "If I had your brother for my Minister, I should not find myself in this situation."

In January the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had

gone with his family to Naples, to assist at the wedding of the Duke of Calabria, came to Rome, followed on the 20th by Duke George of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and his consort, the Grand Duchess Catherine of Russia, the King, Queen, and Prince Albert of Prussia, and also the ex-Queen Maria Christina of Spain, and the Prince of Hesse. On February 9 a great ball was given by General Goyon, to which eight hundred persons were invited, and on March 1 another ball, given at Palazzo Colonna by the French Ambassador, the Duke de Gramont, was honoured by the presence of the ex-Queen Maria Christina, the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg, and the Prince of Hesse. The ball given by Goyon was remarkable for the scarcity of the Roman element; for the General of the Army of Occupation, unattractive in person and politically untrustworthy, whose clerical zeal and military self-importance were the cause of his overbearing manner to the *bourgeoisie*, had not succeeded in making any friends, even among the orthodox aristocracy.

Maria Christina held a veritable Court at the Palazzo di Spagna. She was not beautiful, but pleasing, and did not share the adipose tendency of her mother and sisters, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany and the Empress of Brazil. Her husband, King Ferdinand VII., twenty-two years her senior, had died of some mysterious ailment, leaving his young widow an enormous fortune, which her extravagances had reduced considerably during the stirring years of her regency.

By her second marriage with Ferdinand Muñoz, which was not recognised till 1844, she had several children. She claimed all the rights and privileges of a sovereign, and, as one of the two children of her first marriage was Queen Isabella of Spain, and she herself a former Queen and mother of a Queen, the daughter of a King and sister of a King, she was considered in Rome as a reigning monarch, and treated with all honours. Pius IX. visited the august lady with great ceremony, and Ambassadors, cardinals, and the Roman nobility frequented the Palazzo di Spagna where her Majesty, during the Carnivals of 1858 and 1859, gave fancy dress balls of great splendour. This lady's most adventurous life ended in 1873, at Havre. Her second husband, who was only a simple officer of the Guards at the time the young Queen fell in love with him, and had since become Duke of Rianzares, was a true soldier of fortune. He had a large share in the railway concessions, and was President of the Council of Administration.

Other entertainments followed in rapid succession that year at the Embassies, at the Duke de Gramont's at Palazzo Colonna, and at Count Colloredo's at the Palazzo Venezia.

Politics were once more to be freely discussed at these entertainments. War was held to be inevitable; the people once more agitated, relations with the French soldiers grew more cordial, and the police relaxed their severity. The relations between the Austrian and French Ambassadors, never of the most

friendly, grew gradually hostile, while from Naples came alarming news of the King's health. The King and Queen of Prussia, Maria Christina of Spain, the Prince of Wales, the Prince and Princess of Mecklenburg, the young Princes Romanowski of Leuchtenberg, all assisted at the "*girandola*" on the Pincio. Two days later all these royal and princely personages in splendid equipages attended the inauguration of the Flower and Cattle Show, in the grounds of the Villa Borghese, under the auspices of the Agricultural and Horticultural Societies. The Pope and Diplomatic Corps were in attendance, also the Minister for Tuscany, Bargagli, this being the last occasion on which that province was represented officially in the diplomatic world. By the middle of May, owing to overpowering heat and the preparations for war, the Kings and Princes all departed, the King and Queen of Prussia proceeding to Naples in the hope of restoring His Majesty's health, but Naples produced no amelioration in his condition, and two years later he died in Berlin. It was not without regret that the Prince of Wales said farewell to Rome, his three months there had been among the happiest of his life. Later on, in 1864, he returned in company with his brother-in-law, Prince Frederick William of Prussia, but only made a brief stay.

It may be well to survey the economic condition of the Papal States in this portentous year, before the revolution robbed them of four provinces, the most fertile and prized, and it may be well, also, to

compare the two budgets: the first that appeared after the Restoration, and that of 1858.

If that of 1852 presented an income of 10,473,129.90 *scudi*, and an expenditure of 12,336,487.35, with a deficit of nearly 2,000,000, the budget of 1859, through new taxation, had risen to an income of 14,653,999 *scudi*, an expenditure of 14,552,570, and showed a surplus of 101,429 *scudi*. A great advance had been made, for during those six years, neither famine nor misfortune had visited the land, nor had any great public work been undertaken. The railway subsidies were only to be met when the line was opened to traffic, and it would be some time before that would occur. But if the budget was flourishing, the difference between the exports and imports, the real index of public wealth, had not diminished; and while in 1840 the imports calculated upon the basis of the value of the goods, came to a total of 8,189,240, and the exports to 6,699,231, during the years 1850—59, these latter remained almost unaltered, whilst the imports were almost doubled. These figures, naturally, do not include the enormous amount of smuggled goods.

The total estimate for works of art exported in 1856 only amounted to 290,729 *scudi*, according to the reports of the exit permissions given by the Minister of Commerce, but it was in fact much greater, for the exportation of works of art, ancient and modern, above all from Rome, either by way of land or sea, was carried on by a system of abuses and frauds.

In all these years no steps were taken to restrain either the Directors of Customs, the Receivers, or the guards; they lived at their ease, and made no secret of the origin of their prosperity. To the last days of its existence the Pontifical government proved itself incapable of repressing contraband.

The fair at Senigallia and the free ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia were the chief sources of the smugglers' profits. Just as the theatrical season at Senigallia attracted all the best artists and a vast audience from all parts of the States, the local facilities for smuggling attracted fishing boats and gipsy vans, laden with goods from the coasts of Dalmatia and the Levant, from Venetia, and the neighbourhood of Naples. The Misa became one great market-place; for these boats were easily turned into booths, reached by means of small bridges, and smugglers, merchants, and Customs officials of every grade made the most of this heaven-sent opportunity. The fair lasted two months, and at its conclusion the remaining stock was not removed, but deposited in houses free from the inspection of the officers of Customs, as a rule in the archbishop's palace. Senigallia itself was one of the most flourishing cities in the Pontifical States, where every citizen spent freely.

The free ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia were the chief dumping grounds of the smugglers. Goods would be accumulated in the warehouses, and gradually evading the Customs would filter into the States,

thanks to a systematised series of frauds. Under such conditions, it was a miracle that the Customs brought in any return.

Although a certain economic revival occurred in the northern provinces, the State was always extremely poor in the regions, where a great disproportion existed between the land and its population. The State had a singular formation, the length being three times greater than the breadth; from Terracina to Ferrara measuring 635 kilometres, from the coast of Esino to the Maremma coast but 202. During the last years, the population had increased to 3,300,000, but was scattered over an area of 41,000 square kilometres, and divided into eighteen provinces governed by young ecclesiastics, mostly victims to human frailties.

The four Legations, which should have been governed by cardinals, with the exception of Bologna, were under bishops, hence the Austrian occupation, with its frequent states of siege, its lawsuits, whippings, executions, spyings, and vendettas, found no restraining influence in the high authority of the Pontifical representative. In consequence, an almost morbid restlessness was to be observed in the people, which, naturally did not make for public economy, but only rendered these people more intolerant, and inclined them to double dealings and scepticism.

Intercourse between the provinces was difficult and always regarded with suspicion; passports were required by all who, from Forli, Ravenna, or Ferrara,

desired to visit Bologna or Rome. It was a system of repression, which if not always violent, was certainly provoking and partial, and productive of bad results. The fiscal system of protection was a source of endless contraband, and the political system a source of hatred of all authority. Trust deeds, mortmain, and the consequent state of stagnation were, then as for centuries before, the cause of this impoverishment.

No new industries were started during these years; the cloth factories of Fossombrone, Cagli, Todi, and Bevagna, the cotton factories of Bologna, and the small hat factories in almost all important communes just managed to exist. There was a sugar refinery at Grottamare and a few paper mills at Fabriano, Subiaco, and Guarcino; and at Terni, with that wonderful motor power unemployed, there existed only insignificant ironworks with a foundry attached, small wool and cotton factories, the latter of one hundred looms with two hundred hands, chiefly women. And at this same Terni, the centre of the oil industry, there were only forty-six presses, thirty-six mills for the grinding of cereals, twelve small factories for the dressing of skins and leather, fifteen silk factories, one cloth-weaving factory, one copper-smelting works, and one glass factory, and all on the smallest scale.

Other equally unprosperous silk factories, in spite of the new duties which put an end to foreign importation of cocoons, were established at Jesi, Osimo, Senigallia, Città di Castello, and Perugia. The last resource was the land, whose products did not always

equal the local demand, about a half-million *lires'* worth of olive oil, for example, being imported from Tuscany. The only paying export was the excellent hemp rope of Ferrara, Bologna, Cesena, and Forli, so highly esteemed in England. The exportation of cattle and meat, of spun silk and linen, of sulphur and plaited-straw goods, had somewhat increased beyond the Po and in the province of Modena. Rome exported objects of art, requisites for religious observances, salted sheep's and goats' milk cheeses. The whole economic life of the States was an alternation of scarcity and plenty.

Men yet living recollect how one year there was a great dearth of grain in Romagna, the poor people living on potatoes and cooked herbs; another year, on account of the vine disease, wine was only to be had at fabulous prices; yet another year the vintage was so plentiful that, for want of vats, in many places it could not be gathered in and the price of wine fell as low as four *lire* the hectolitre. These famines had their sad after-effects in the frauds carried on by the small dealers, a state of affairs the government was unable to check. In some Umbrian towns, through the charitable impulse of the nobles, so-called "*Magazzini dell' abbondanza*" were started; many "*Monti Frumentari*" had been opened in all the States, specially where grain was the only product of the soil, and the *metayer* system did not exist. In fact, the greater number of them were to be found in Velletri, Frosinone, Viterbo, and Sabina, where they

represented a form of rural charity rather than an agrarian credit. No interest was charged for grain distributed from these corn deposits—that is to say, the repayment was to be made in kind and in the same quantity. In some communes the rate was extremely low, but in both cases the aid given to agriculture was trifling. It was impossible to raise money on land or to obtain agrarian credit, and, despite the many charitable enterprises, which, had they been only slightly modified, might have raised the Papal States to a position among the richest and most prosperous of Europe, usury, in all its short-sighted and devastating forms, reigned supreme.

In fact, the Territory of the Church was never a homogeneous or organic whole like other States. Its various sections differed in race, history, geography, and agriculture, and Rome, which regarded the provinces beyond the Apennines as provisional possessions, did nothing to promote amalgamation, while at the same time drawing upon them for the greater part of her requirements. The Legations, in fact, with the highlands of the valley of the Tiber, the plain from Spoleto to Perugia, and the sea-coast of the Marches, with the ports of Senigallia, Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, and Ravenna, were the most civilised parts of the States, and, considering the times, the most prosperous. The sea and the Po, by connecting them with the world, rescued them from that condition of semi-barbarism which prevailed in the immense tract of territory which stretched from Orte and Montalto to

Rome, and from the provinces of Viterbo, Maremma, the Agro, and Ciociaria to the Neapolitan frontier. Rome had more contact with the neighbouring towns of Velletri, Frosinone, Terracina, Viterbo, Civita Vecchia, and Sabina, which were bound closer to her than were Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Pesaro, Perugia, and Ancona.

In contrast to Naples, which centralised and Neapolitanised its various regions and was equally the capital of Apulia and Calabria, of the Abruzzi and the Principalities, Rome seemed the capital of the lesser provinces rather than the capital of the kingdom. Naples had a strongly centralised government, Rome can scarcely be said to have had a government, for although it neve gave complete autonomy to the distant provinces, it never opposed their traditions and customs. For centuries they had enjoyed a turbulent, factious local life, under powerful feudal lords, who fostered art, charity, culture, and agriculture.

Even in its most reactionary days Rome respected this species of formal autonomy, a result of historical traditions by which in all parts of Emilia, Romagna, the Marches and Umbria, and especially in Romagna, a limited number of persons were placed, if not through favour, yet by common consent, in a position of the highest social consideration. They were nearly all bearers of titles, but had not much wealth. They were elected to fill posts in the local governments, municipalities, charitable organisations, savings

banks, and, provided their political tendencies awoke no suspicions, were even chosen as governors and delegates.

The two slopes of the central Apennines contain innumerable valleys, alternating with mountain chains, running in various directions, presenting every variety of geographical formation, from which rose innumerable streams that emptied their short and torrential courses into the Adriatic or the Tiber.

There were then no roads worth speaking of in the mountains. In 1830, the road over the pass of Bocca Trabaria, more than a thousand metres above sea level, was constructed by the two States to unite Leghorn with Ancona. Before that, the only passes which existed in the Central Apennines were the historical ones of Montagna Rossa and Scheggia, and from that time until 1860 no other roads were made.

The Legations, Marches, and Umbria, had indeed a network of roads of their own, but they were badly connnected, and separated from Rome by a mountainous district. Each section led its own local life, with its frequent religious festivals, its oft-recurring fairs and markets, and its own internal commerce. The *metayer* system (by which the cultivator of the land works it, sharing the products with the owner) prevailed in the land tenure of these provinces, hence the condition of the labourers in the Bolognese, Ferrarese, and Maritime Marches, as well as in Umbria, was a fairly easy one. There was no lack of draught animals. If the ploughs were old-

fashioned it was because agricultural implements had not yet reached the modern state of perfection. They were drawn by three or four yoke of oxen, and the work was finished by the spade, which, as the peasants of those parts say, is tipped with gold. But conditions on the hills and mountains, or in the narrow and unhealthy valleys of the great estates were entirely different. A miserable population, scarcely human, sustained alone by a feeling of resignation, inhabited the upper slopes of the Apennines, a population subsisting on maize bread, never tasting meat or wine, and whose spiritual welfare was confided to a poor, ignorant parish priest, terrorized by all authority, apparent or actual. No works of charity, no education, penetrated to these mountain communities, the characteristics of which were found also among the large class of day-labourers of the lower Romagna and Ferrara, of the unhealthy districts given over to rice cultivation, and of the valleys of Sacco, Aniene, and Liri. In these latter, however, the sentiment of resignation was less strong, the minds less narrow, the feuds and the use of knife or gun not tempered by religion. These people contributed to swell the bands of brigands who, from 1860—70, swarmed over the country. The condition of the rural population of the Papal States was indeed a pitiable one. In the vast unhealthy environs of Rome, the condition of shepherds and peasants, almost all from the Abruzzi, crippled with fever and finding their only escape from

misery in the hospitals, baffles description. The mountain-dwellers were denied even hospitals. The Pontifical government, while pretending to educate, opposed any vigorous educational activity: while appearing to listen to the cries of need, left its rural population, scattered through the Apennines and upper valleys, entirely to itself. Totally unconscious of their miserable condition, they were no menace politically. Conscription did not exist, consequently dangerous ideas had no chance of spreading, for the acquaintance of each villager was limited to his own boundaries. The need of guarantees for personal liberty and security, the reforms of justice and public administration, placing them in the hands of the laity, the extension of charitable enterprises free of ecclesiastical control, the equal distribution of alms to all unfortunates, all these ideas and demands which constituted Liberalism, took root only in towns and among the educated and middle classes. The country was no stronghold for Liberal ideas, and, even in the towns on both sides of the Apennines, too many were indifferent, because on account of their inherent egotism, they confined their energy to their own affairs, content to serve any master rather than to exert themselves.

The impulse towards mutual aid and thrift was more prevalent in the provinces distant from Rome; the first showing itself in small contributions for the relief of the sick, the second, in the organisation of a

few lay and ecclesiastical volunteers as founders or shareholders in a sinking fund.

When the first Savings Bank was founded in Rome in 1836, there were very few elsewhere, the principal ones being those of Venice, Milan, Turin, and Florence. Between 1836 and 1860 they spread rapidly in the Papal States, founded generally as limited anonymous companies with a small capital raised by public subscriptions, to be repaid according to the condition of the institution, but offering no interest.

It should be added, to the credit of the Pontifical government, that far from opposing any obstacle, it favoured these enterprises. The interest paid to the depositors was low, generally four per cent. Under the Italian government, the general economic conditions going from bad to worse, the rate increased until about 1880, beginning then to diminish during the following decade, until, in our day, in the general economic revival, it has reached its lowest figure. As a rule, the management was confided to prudent administrators who proved themselves worthy of the trust, the financial affairs of these institutions being, on the whole, above suspicion. The administrators gave their services gratuitously, many *employés* following their example. In the Legations and the Marches exchange investments were preferred ; in Latium, mortgages. The Bank of Rome, to this day, declines exchange operations. Despite the fact that the State exercised no technical supervision, there is

no record of waste or fraud. In fact, so favourable were conditions to these small institutions that had the former been preserved the latter might have attained great importance.

Savings Banks were many and comparatively flourishing, but there was only one Insurance Society which struggled for a bare existence; though it enjoyed certain privileges, its business was limited to the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ancona; being generally considered useless, for all felt certain of the special interposition of Providence and of the help of charitable institutions.

Only a few straw and hay stacks were insured against fire, town folk being firmly convinced that sufficient water and the vigilance of the night watchman removed all danger of conflagration. Amusing details are told concerning the various methods of life insurance. Jews converted to Catholicism could insure for two years on payment of the sum of seventy-two *scudi*, which sum was bequeathed to them as a premium by the legacy of a Rospigliosi, on condition that it should be paid two years after conversion, and that in case of death, the family had no claim to it. Hence, the premium being a certainty, the number of the converted increased, until it was discovered that the same persons offered themselves twice, thus obtaining the premium twice; wherefore, the company, on discovering the truth, ceased to insure any converted Hebrews. No faith was placed in insurances by the clergy; a few prelates

only, after many precautions, insured themselves in favour of their nephews.

The mercantile marine throve principally upon contraband, and in 1858 numbered only 196 national boats on the Mediterranean coast of 157 kilometres in length, and 1,069 on the Adriatic coast of 198 kilometres, including, of course, the smaller fishing boats, which far outnumbered the others. The mercantile marine, therefore, was inconsiderable. To make clear this difference in the numbers we must remember that the whole of the Mediterranean coast was malarial, and with the exception of Civita Vecchia and Porto D'Anzio, Terracina and Fiumicino, there were neither wharves, landing-stages nor inhabitants, while the Adriatic was healthy, and studded with flourishing towns and open ports. Fishing was carried on exclusively by Neapolitan fishermen on the Mediterranean, and by those of Chioggia on the Adriatic. With the exception of Leo XII., who had some boats built in the arsenal at Civita Vecchia for the purpose of letting them out to contractors under easy conditions of payment, and who, also, proposed building dwellings for the fisherfolk along the coast, a plan which collapsed with his death, no Pope paid any attention to the Mediterranean fisheries.

Pius IX., on his last journey in the provinces, gave orders for the enlarging of the ports of Senigallia, Rimini, Pesaro, and Ravenna, then in a miserable condition, exposed to the bitter winds of winter and

the danger of sand deposits from the sea. They served as harbours for picturesque fishing boats, with their large coloured sails and small forestay sail; also, for barques and fishing boats engaged in the transport of fruits and vegetables to the Dalmatian and Illyrian coasts. The landing-stages to the south of Ancona were unsafe even for boats of small tonnage; in fact, Ancona was the only port of considerable size on the Adriatic, and Civita Vecchia on that of the Mediterranean. Twenty years later, in 1878, the number of vessels on the Adriatic had risen to 1,572, and on the Mediterranean to 274, their united tonnage being 31,165, a great advance in twenty years.

After 1860 nothing but the Tyrrhenean coast remained to the Pope. The revolution and Castelfidardo had deprived him of the entire littoral from the Po to San Benedetto. To-day, the total number of sailing, mercantile, and steam vessels plying from Chioggia to San Benedetto is 309. There are also 1,290 fishing boats and rather less than a thousand vessels in the service of the coast and ports.

On the Tyrrhenean coast the number of fishing barques alone registered in the district of Civita Vecchia, which comprises all the old Pontifical seaboard, reaches the number of 190, and the tonnage of the mercantile marine has gained enormously. Civita Vecchia, with nine steamers and thirty-six sailing vessels inscribed on her registers, has become

one of the largest steamship ports. But, the sea coast, despite improvements, new buildings, and the two railway lines of Porto D'Anzio and Fiumicino, still remains malarial.

CHAPTER XV

THE EVE OF THE WAR—CONSPIRACIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN ROME AND THE PROVINCES

THE relations between Rome and Turin, never too friendly, became absolutely hostile after the Orsini attempt. The governments of Rome, Naples, and Tuscany laid the blame on the political attitude of Piedmont, which encouraged the revolutionary elements in all Italy, and gave the political press a free hand. Their diplomatic representatives in Paris, London, and Vienna made propaganda on these lines, thus rendering the position of the Sardinian government very difficult, not only towards Napoleon, but also towards the rest of Europe. It was then that Cavour had a sudden flash of political audacity. Addressing an energetic circular to all the Sardinian representatives abroad, he laid the responsibility of these perpetual attempts upon the bad systems of government that were general in Italy, and above all upon the expulsions so much resorted to, especially by the Pontifical government, on which account, in Piedmont alone, the exiles from the Roman States amounted to many

hundreds. "Sent into exile," said the circular, "irritated by illegal measures, forced to live outside the pale of respectable society, and often without means of subsistence, the exile naturally associates himself with revolutionary agitators. It is obviously easy for the latter to excite him, to convince him, and to affiliate him, and, as a result, the exile, in the shortest space of time, becomes dangerous." In conclusion, it was stated that "the system followed by the Pontifical government results in a continuous stream of new recruits pouring into the revolutionary ranks, and while that continues, all efforts made by other governments to suppress the subversive sects will prove vain."

It must be remembered that Felice Orsini was an exile from the Papal States, and had held office in the Constituent Committee of 1849. Pianori, too, the cobbler who also attempted to blow up Napoleon III., was a native of Romagna. This circular was followed by a despatch in which, examining the causes for these attempts that had succeeded each other within such a short space of time in Paris, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Sicily, and Sapri, it was set forth that "*Cette cause profonde de mécontentement qu'il est dans l'intérêt de toute l'Europe de détruire, cette cause existe réelment, c'est l'occupation étrangère, c'est le mauvais gouvernement des Etats du Pape et du Royaume de Naples: c'est la prépondérance autrichienne en Italie.*"

This despatch, presented to Cardinal Antonelli by the new Sardinian Minister, Count Pes della Minerva,

provoked a burst of anger from Pius IX. It had been remarked that the new Minister had entered at once into intimate relations with those patricians who held unorthodox views, men of Liberal tendencies, among whom were Silvagni, an indomitable and cautious conspirator. Della Minerva, interpreting Cavour's thoughts, encouraged men of Liberal opinions to put trust in Piedmont, in the House of Savoy and in Napoleon III. The Pontifical government, hearing the first mutterings of the fast approaching storm, endeavoured to justify itself in the eyes of Europe. Immediately after De Rayneval's note appeared a book entitled "Rome, its Government and Institutions," published in Florence by John Thomas Maguire, a member of the British House of Commons. This volume, indited with a sort of frigid lyricism, contained some shrewd observations in company with a mass of trivialities. The author trusted that his book would be successful in lifting the black veil under which ignorance and prejudice had concealed the truth from the eyes of many well-intentioned readers, and in winning appreciation for the virtues of the best of men, the most benificent among reigning sovereigns, and one of the most illustrious of Pontiffs. It was, in short, an apology for Pius IX., Antonelli and other high dignitaries, not the best accredited members of the Curia.

The end of 1858 was approaching. It does not appear that the Pontifical diplomats knew what had happened at the meeting between Napoleon III. and

Cavour in the summer of that year at Plombières. Yet the fate of the Legations was sealed at that interview. The Emperor and the Prime Minister of Victor Emmanuel were of one mind that the four Pontifical provinces, after a victorious war with Austria, should be incorporated into the new kingdom of Victor Emmanuel, extending from the Alps to Ancona, with a population of from ten to twelve millions, and that France should annex Savoy and Nice. It may be that the Holy See was absolutely ignorant of this plot. Monsignor Sacconi, Papal Nuncio in Paris, was no shining light, and probably never drew the attention of the Secretary of State to Cavour's journey to Plombières. Something, however, leaked out after Prince Napoleon's visit to Turin at New Year, when the treaty of alliance between France and Piedmont was signed. But the Holy See was unable to imagine a war to be possible between France and Austria, and this because the French middle class, bankers and business men, were all opposed to it, and also because the Catholic attitude in France was strongly inimical to Piedmont and its ecclesiastical policy. Indeed, when the war came it created a situation unique in history.

France, allying herself to Piedmont, in the name of Italian independence, rekindled a mighty flame throughout the Peninsula, reviving hopes and plans which the older governments deemed extinct. It was easy to foresee that, should Austria be defeated, the Legations, which they held in submission on

behalf of the Papacy, would rise immediately. The Vatican did not fear for Rome, because in his proclamation of May 3 Napoleon said: "*Nous n'allons pas en Italie fomenter le désordre, ni ébranler le pouvoir du Saint-Père, que nous avons replacé sur son trône.*" Still the Pontifical Court felt uneasy, knowing well that Piedmont, by allying itself thus openly with the revolutionary party, would not neglect any means of creating difficulties for the Pontifical and other Italian governments. Therefore, when war had become inevitable, the Pontifical Court ardently hoped for the success of Austria. Each day it expected to hear that the Austrians under Marshal Giulay had fallen upon Turin and reduced it before the arrival of the French. The hatred of the Curia for Napoleon III. can be imagined when it is remembered that he entered Italy to drive out the Austrians, and had now become practically the leader of the revolution, the accomplice of Cavour's long laid plots, and the ally of the King of Sardinia, to whom, in his conversation with Minghetti, ten years previously, Pius IX. had been so little complimentary.

The Curia was forced to proceed with much circumspection, seeing that the French occupied Rome and that it was not prudent to rouse their anger. The situation was almost dramatic, for, in the hope of avoiding war, Cardinal Antonelli, in February, appealed to the protocol of April 8 of the Congress of Paris, and addressed a note to the French and Austrian Ambassadors, wherein he stated that the

Holy See considered itself strong enough to maintain security and peace within its States, and consequently it was ready, at the shortest notice, to enter into an understanding with the two Powers for the withdrawal of both the French and the Austrian troops.

On March 4 the Austrian government replied that its Army of Occupation would evacuate the Papal States as soon as the Pope considered its presence unnecessary—an ambiguous reply, possibly indited in bad faith. The French government, on its part, took no notice of the Secretary's note, though, as a matter of fact, its advent increased the diplomatic difficulties of the different governments with regard to the Italian question. It had, in fact, been a clever move on the part of Antonelli. Its aim was to prevent the war, but it proved fruitless.

Those were agitated days in the realms of diplomacy. Every effort was made to avoid the breaking out of hostilities and to induce Napoleon to draw back. It seemed as though he had no remembrance of Plombières; on the contrary, he appeared to believe that the Italian question could be only settled by a Congress. Whoever has studied the contemporary documents can understand Cavour's anguish at seeing all his hopes, the result of ten years' audacious and secret plotting, vanish into smoke. It was precisely during the first half of March that he advised the King to abdicate, as a protest against Napoleon's bad faith, and Nigra contends that Cavour himself meditated suicide. In his letters written during that

year Cavour, who was impetuous and emotional, said to his friends that had he failed to induce Napoleon to fulfil the treaty he would have advised Victor Emmanuel to abdicate, and he himself, after exposing all the wire-pulling at the Congress of Paris and the agreement of Plombières, would have left Italy for ever and spent his last days in America.

Summoned by the Emperor, he went to Paris, and, after having tried to dissuade Napoleon from calling a Congress, or even from disarming, both equally absurd, he announced with great decision that, as Piedmont was not to be admitted to the Congress on an equal footing with the other great Powers, he reserved to himself all liberty of action. Returning to Turin, he acted with such consummate skill and audacity, that he provoked Austria to decline both the Congress and the disarmament schemes, and herself to commence hostilities, thus making her appear in the eyes of the world, arrogant and aggressive, yet devoid of the courage to march on Turin.

Peace negotiations having fallen through, the Pontifical government began to fear for its internal safety. It foresaw that Bologna, in the event of Austria's defeat, would become the headquarters of revolution. Since the death of one of the most genial men who ever sat on St. Peter's Chair—Prospero Lambertini, Bolognese by birth and training—Bologna, a University and Ghibelline city, open to every new idea, had always been a thorn in the

flesh of the Papal government. Despite the vicinity of Modena and Parma, of Rome, Ferrara, Urbino, Camerino, Macerata, and Perugia, the number of its students, from all parts of Italy and Europe, never diminished.

During the years 1849—59 Bologna had led its own life. After the Congress of Paris and the disillusions following the Papal journeys, its Liberal spirit reasserted itself, and nobles and citizens who were united in perfect harmony, a circumstance unknown in any other Italian city, in those early months of 1859, only awaited the withdrawal of the Austrian soldiers to rise and proclaim the sovereignty of the King of Sardinia. A breath of the coming storm could be felt during these last days in all haunts of Bolognese life, from the University to the theatres, from the aristocratic *salons* to the *cafés* where the night birds gathered. After the Congress people began to favour the idea of a lay Vicariate for the Legations, with headquarters at Bologna, to be confided to Victor Emmanuel. It was, however, quickly realised that the scheme was impossible, for the Pope would concede nothing, and the Bolognese could do nothing while the Austrians were quartered upon them. Piedmont and Cavour exercised a magic sway over the imaginations of the Bolognese.

The most important of the *salons* that served as hotbeds of political agitation was that of Gozzadini, as well as those of the Malvezzi, Tanari, Tattini, and also that of the Pepoli, presided over by Letitia

Murat, daughter of the heroic and unfortunate King, a woman of rare mind, first cousin to the French Emperor. Her sister Louisa was married to Count Giulio Rasponi of Ravenna. It seemed a fatality for the Papal domination in the Legations that the daughters of the ex-King of Naples should preside over influential circles at Ravenna and Bologna, and that their houses should become the fountain-heads of Liberal propaganda, directed with no view to obtaining concessions from the Pope (in those, after 1857, no one believed), but with the aim of shaking off his dominion. At Bologna Pepoli ranked as the most ardent and restless of his party. Married to a Princess of Hohenzollern—his wife and mother both bearing the title of Highness—he lived in princely style. Surrounded by courtiers and hangers-on, standing half-way between an aristocracy eaten up with pride, and a democracy more noisy than sincere, Pepoli enjoyed great prestige in consequence of his name, his wealth, and his connections, as well as for his sprightly talents, brilliant conversation, and cultured mind. Associated with Minghetti, Pepoli was also on friendly terms with his uncle, Lucien Murat, pretender to the Neapolitan throne, through whom he was drawn into many a dark and unsuccessful conspiracy that also cost him much money. Vain and excessively ambitious, he made many journeys to Paris, on one occasion taking with him three plans of State reform, drawn up by Minghetti, for presentation to the Emperor; on

another, the bearer of letters and a mission from Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, although he was not much trusted by either. It was through no merit of their own, but rather through their close connection with Napoleon III. that he and his cousin Rasponi were not imprisoned or exiled. If their direct participation in the national movement did not absolutely confirm the intentions of the French monarch towards things Italian, it at least encouraged that impression. The presence of Pepoli and Rasponi in the Provisional governments of Bologna and Ravenna helped further to strengthen this conviction, and contributed greatly to the success of the Liberal cause in the Pontifical States.

Minghetti, Secretary-General to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was in Turin when war was declared, He wrote to a friend: "*Ordine interno*, and *Concorso alla guerra d'indipendenza*, these are the two sentences which dominate the situation. It is not necessary to enter into the political question. From the moment the Pontifical government proves itself unable to maintain order the citizens have a right to legitimate protection. Remember, that without great sacrifices it is impossible to gain freedom. Tell this to all that they may give proof of their self-sacrifice."

To this same friend Gioacchino Pepoli wrote:

"All will go well if we do not ourselves spoil things. But to this end I hold that the Committee, of which I form a part, has a right to be informed

of *everything* and *hold everything in its hand*. Arrange things according to this point of view. The day of small autonomies is past. Be of good cheer. Our hopes will be crowned with success."

Those were days of doubt and anxiety, for, although faith remained unshaken, all peril, until after Magenta, was not over. An Austrian victory meant for Italy a return to the delusions, errors, and extreme ideas of 1848.

Easter fell that year on April 23. The war had then become a certainty. Three days after, the Austrian envoy delivered an ultimatum to Cavour demanding the disarmament and disbanding of all volunteers within three days, a refusal to be considered as a declaration of war between Austria and Piedmont.

The National Committee of Rome had organised, for the Easter festivals, a demonstration of sympathy for the French Ambassador and the Sardinian Chargé d'Affairs, and yet another noisier one for the French soldiers assembled in the Piazza S. Pietro after the Papal benediction. The ceremony ended, all the privileged carriages of the Diplomatic body and the aristocracy slowly crossed the Ponte S. Angelo. When the three carriages of the Duke de Gramont appeared in sight loud cries of "*Viva la Francia! Viva l'Imperatore! Viva l'Italia!*" rent the air. Cries were repeated more loudly as the modest hired vehicle of Count Della Minerva passed. The Austrian Ambassador was accorded a very different

reception, being greeted with hisses. Re-entering the Palazzo Venezia he hurriedly discarded his uniform, and, taking a hired carriage, called upon Antonelli to protest against this demonstration. But in Piazza S. Pietro he got mixed up in the crowd, which had swelled in numbers, assembled to do honour to the French soldiers. It transpired that the conversation between the Ambassador and the Secretary of State proved very animated. Another of that day's incidents was the appearance of Mr. Clendeworth, the United States Consul, dressed in white, in consequence of which he was mistaken for an Austrian officer and greeted with hisses. Upon his protestations and shouts of "*Viva l'Italia!*" the cries of disapproval were turned into cheers. After the illumination of the cupola in the evening and the spectacle of the *girandola* on the Pincio, another demonstration took place at the Palazzo Colonna and Palazzo Ruspoli.

Two days after Easter the news reached Rome that the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, unwilling to abdicate in favour of the Crown Prince, had left Florence with his family for Verona, and that a Provisional government had been proclaimed in that city. It was a bolt from the blue. Marchese Bargagli, on his return home after the festivities in Villa Borghese, heard the strange news. He rushed at once to the Vatican to seek further explanations, and was shown the telegrams received from the Minister at Florence. Only the day previously the

Nuncio at Florence had assured the Pope that nothing would happen there. In his announcement of the Grand Duke's departure he intimated that he had no doubt of his return within a month. After the lapse of a month, and when no such event occurred, the Nuncio did not hesitate to affirm ingenuously that he had always foreseen this. In Leopold II., and later, in Ferdinand II., King of Naples, Pius IX. lost two devoted friends, and the last supporters, after Austria, that he had in Italy. Both were ultra-Catholic, and both had been thrown into close relations with the Pontiff at Gaeta after the events of 1848.

Similar episodes followed the Easter demonstrations. On the following day could be read at the street corners this brutal notice, which substituted the name of the French General for that of the Pontifical government, though it had its own police Ministry of the Interior, and Governor.

"Rome, April 26, 1859.

"Peaceful but public demonstrations have occurred. Whatever may be our sympathies for the sentiments expressed, we cannot permit this to recur; all public demonstrations, whatever their motive, are a menace to order and compel measures unfortunate for those who are their victims. The law forbids all meetings and orders that, if necessary, they be dispersed by force. Therefore, by order of the Emperor and to help the Government of the venerable and venerated

Holy Father to maintain order, I, as commander of the troops, must enforce the law. This duty, painful though it be, I shall enforce in every particular. I count, however, upon the intelligence and wisdom of the Roman population to render my task easy.

"Comte De Goyon."

But De Goyon's circular only manifested his ill-will. It in no way extinguished the ardour of the Liberals or prevented the other demonstrations from recurring. They took place each time news arrived from the seat of war or concerning the progress of the revolution in the provinces. At the French Military Club, in Piazza Colonna, the tricoloured Sardinian flag was flown next to the French, and under the shadow of these emblems crowds continually assembled to acclaim both Italy and France. It was not an easy task to hinder the demonstrations by imprisoning or exiling the participators, and although De Goyon executed the instructions which he claimed to have received from the Emperor, in the most ungracious fashion, circumstances were two strong for him. He could not charge the people at the point of the bayonet for crying "*Viva la Francia! Viva Napoleone III.!*" while the Pontifical police stood by, inactive. De Goyon gave another proof of his clerical tendencies when, replying to the deputation of the Palatine Guards who had congratulated him on the honour bestowed on him by the Emperor in sending him the

white plume of *aide-de-camp;* he remarked that he trusted shortly to receive a Field-Marshal's *bâton* in the imminent war against the Piedmontese! But after Magenta and the great demonstration in which the cries of "*Viva l'Italia! Viva Vittorio Emmanuele!*" were mingled with "*Viva la Francia! Viva Napoleone!*" driven to bay, he published another notice which, if not as brutal as the first, proved him to be a Jesuit of the first water.

"Yesterday a great joy filled our hearts and yours. This joy would have been still greater, if, observant of a notice hitherto well observed, you had known how to restrain your noisy manifestations. Let no abettor of disorder mingle in your ranks, avoid all semblance of ill-will lest the repressive measures we might see fit to employ react upon the friends of the French. Silence is painful to us, and, deprived as we are of the happiness of fighting side by side with our brothers-in-arms, we hold it an honour to rejoice with them. But if they hold the flag of France in honour, we also hold in equal honour that of order, and we shall understand how to make it respected. It, too, is a noble banner!

"Rome, June 7, 1859.

"General of Division, *Aide-de-camp* to H.I.M. the Emperor of the French,

"Comte De Goyon."

De Goyon probably obeyed literally every order received, orders intended to dissipate any hope that

the French government would, under given circumstances, abandon the Pope to his enemies. This was the one immoveable decision of Napoleon's policy. The first news of the war which reached the Pope before the insurrection in the provinces, did not deter him from indulging himself in a day's outing at Castel Porziano.

CHAPTER XVI

THE RISING IN BOLOGNA AND OTHER PLACES

IT may be imagined with what joy Bologna greeted the news of the Austrians' defeat at Magenta on June 4, their retreat upon Milan, and the entry of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel into that city amid frantic applause. It was good news, too, that the Duchess had quitted Parma, that the fort had been handed over to the municipality, and that the soldiers had been released from their oath of fealty. Indeed, astonishing news poured in with startling rapidity. The next days brought the glad tidings that the Austrians had retreated to the Mincio, and Lombardy was free. The Duke of Modena, with his entire battalion, retired beyond the Po, on the morning of the 11th.

It was manifest that the Austrians would evacuate Bologna, Ancona, and Ferrara. Public excitement in Bologna grew apace, and the Liberals were of one mind as to their proposed plans of action. The departure of the Austrians from Bologna during the night of June 11—12 was the spark which set all Italy ablaze.

Ravenna rose on the 13th in the same manner as Bologna. When the Apostolic delegate and all the troops had departed, the populace flocked to the chief Piazza, tore down the Papal colours, and raised the tricolour. A Provisional government was instantly elected. A rather humorous incident occurred at Ravenna. On the evening of the 17th four thousand Austrians came in from Ancona, footsore and weary from their long march and in a pitiable condition. They were on their way to Ferrara. Seeing them the city was seized with a panic. Cries of treason were launched at Cesena for not preventing their advance. In a flash down came the tricolour, up went the Papal flag, and the members of the Provisional government retired. In point of fact, the Austrian soldiers encamped for one night outside the town and did no harm, and, on their departure, the flag of Savoy was once more flown, and the revolution continued its course. The Austrians' peaceful behaviour was due, in great measure, to the tact and courage of Pasolini. The much-dreaded passage of the Ancona garrison, whose numbers had been greatly exaggerated, impeded the movement, but only for a brief while. On the 15th the Austrians reached Cesena, and left it on the 17th. Scarcely had they passed the gates than the city rose, and the municipality formed itself into a Provisional government. On the same day—when the news of the Austrians' departure reached them by way of Ravenna—Faenza, Rimini, and other smaller towns followed the example of

Bologna, unchecked by the Pontifical, civil, or military authorities.

The last place to revolt was Ferrara, as the Austrian troops did not leave till the 20th, when they suddenly evacuated the fortress, the outposts, and abandoned all their stores. The Pontifical troops and Monsignor Gramiccia left also, after which the Papal flag was at once removed, and the revolution proclaimed without a shadow of resistance.

The theatrical season that year was brilliant, in all the towns of the Legation that possessed theatres, clubs, and academies. The old Carnival *Corso* was revived. The Liberal movement found great favour among the women of the four provinces, who were by nature vivacious and impassioned. Giannina Milli passed through Bologna and improvised to large audiences, and was everywhere received with patriotic enthusiasm. At Ferrara her recitations roused intense enthusiasm.

Within the space of nine days, from June 12 to June 21, even before the battle of Solferino, the Pontifical government had practically ceased to exist in the four provinces, a fact assented to by the authorities with a certain philosophic indifference. This was not the case, however, beyond Cattolica, where the incipient insurrections of Ancona, Jesi, Fano, Urbino, and Fossombrone were easily suppressed by the native soldiers recruited from Romagna.

Perugia rose on the 14th, a peaceful insurrection, for it occurred without opposition on the part of the authorities. But when it was known that Rome intended to recapture the town, the leaders of revolt realised that they lacked arms and men, because the younger and more vigorous citizens had left for the front, consequently the aid of General Luigi Mezzacapo was invoked. He was at Florence with a division consisting largely of volunteers from the Romagna, exiles from Rome. When the division reached Bologna the news arrived of the armistice of Villafranca. Consequently they advanced no further, but remained in the insurgent provinces to defend them against possible attack, either on the part of the Austrian or Papal troops. A second division was also formed, and the two together constituted that Army of the League, commanded by General Manfredo Fanti, which did such good work in maintaining order during those months when despair followed upon high hopes—that is, from the day after Villafranca until January, when Count Cavour returned to power.

For a short period Garibaldi acted as second in command of the Army of the League, but differences arose between him and General Fanti, because, in October, Garibaldi desired to invade the Marches and penetrate into Neapolitan territory. In November he addressed this fiery proclamation to the army of Central Italy:

"Citizens! Let every soul in Italy prepare a

weapon to obtain, perhaps to-morrow, and by force, what to-day they hesitate to concede to us from a sense of justice."

Garibaldi and Fanti were never reconciled. Fanti was Cavour's right hand and next year was the leader of that splendid expedition into the Marches, Umbria, and Naples, which accomplished Italian unity.

When member of the Army of Emilia, Garibaldi's monarchical sentiments were most pronounced. He consented to wear the uniform of a Piedmontese general, a uniform which made him much less conspicuous than the red shirt and round cap by which he had always been easily recognised.

Mezzacapo was bitterly reproached because of his refusal to hasten to the aid of the Perugians and only sending one regiment to their assistance. In self-defence, he has since stated that he could not assume this responsibility without a written order from Cavour. Cavour, who probably would not have opposed the movement, dared not give the order for fear of complications with France at that most critical moment after Magenta and before Solferino. Napoleon was disquieted by the events taking place in the Pontifical provinces, and echoes of the Pope's protestations against the successful risings in his States, reached him from Rome and Paris. Thus Cavour made no observations with reference to Mezzacapo's behaviour. The truth was, everyone believed that the insurrection in Perugia, like that of Bologna and the other Legations, would succeed of itself without assistance from

Piedmont. Arms and men were awaited, but neither the one nor the other arrived, and, no help being forthcoming, the movement failed. Perugia, as a matter of fact, was not prepared, and the rising was the result of enthusiasm rather than of a preconcerted plan. Yet the moderate Liberals in Perugia did not lose heart even when they realised for failure of their two illusions—namely, that Rome would never send an army to reconquer them, and that help would not fail to come from Tuscany. Public spirit was not crushed, and the initiative to revolution, as in Bologna, Ravenna, and almost all Romagna, was due to the moderate patriots. It must, however, in fairness be added that the Republican party, when approached for aid, gave it freely. Despite concord between the two parties, however, Perugia did not escape seizure and conquest.

This slaughter at Perugia provoked bitter protests against the Papal government from all civilised Europe, and was a powerful weapon in Cavour's hand the following year.

CHAPTER XVII

THE POPE'S PROTESTS—THE CONGRESS

HOW painfully surprised was the irascible Pope! Two years had scarcely elapsed since his tour of the provinces, from which he had returned with the impression that the people's faith in him was unshaken, and, behold! in nine days the State was in a blaze, and the Legations lost. That the revolution had been suppressed in Perugia and the Marches did not suffice to comfort him; nor was he consoled by the public order that prevailed in Rome, where the news from the provinces had inflamed all minds and promised yet greater disasters. Excitement was manifested in the theatres, the University, and the streets, where collections were made to assist the soldiers to desert and to send volunteers to join the Piedmontese army. The city was restless and agitated, and however much Goyon might threaten he could intimidate as little as the police, or the Austrian Ambassador; for since Magenta and Solferino, no one was afraid. The Duke de Gramont openly fraternised with the Liberals, and the Sardinian Minister had dropped all pretence of prudence. Pius IX., like all his Court

and his government, felt persuaded that the revolution was a passing phase due to the intrigues of Piedmont and the secret societies of Bologna and Romagna.

The Pope either could not or would not see that this movement had been carried by the wonderful unanimity shown by all classes, the moment the Pontifical authority, after the departure of the Austrians, had left the towns to themselves, and that men of high standing had assumed the direction of affairs, men who, smarting under the errors of 1848, saw no salvation save in a united kingdom, now about to be formed under the house of Savoy. There were no disorders, no Republican attempts, even in those places where the teachings of Mazzini still numbered many adherents, and had taken deep root. Even in towns where sectarian prejudices had struck deepest and where political assassinations had flourished, a period of civic sagacity supervened, lasting until the memorable meeting at Bologna, where, amid great solemnity and no less simplicity, the temporal power of the Pope was declared extinct and the annexation of the provinces to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel decreed, with Farini as Dictator. The Dictatorship, like that of Ricasoli at Florence, saved the situation. It must be realised that, after Villafranca, Cavour was no longer at the helm, and it seemed as if the Italian ship of State missed the hand of its best pilot in a time of such storm and stress.

The Pope, in protest, and in order to excite

the world to come to his defence, had recourse to spiritual weapons. He neglected neither encyclicals, allocutions, diplomatic notes, and menaces of excommunication. All, however, was in vain. His protests fell stillborn. Austria, defeated at Solferino, accepted the armistice, the peace, and the conditions of non-interference in Italian affairs. When, on September 6, the Legations assembled at Bologna, the Pope, calling together the Sacred College, pronounced another violent allocution. Referring to his previous pronouncement in June, Pius IX. enumerated and condemned all the acts committed in Emilia, where, "the banner of rebellion and defection having been raised, the Pontifical government was abolished. Moved by hatred against the Apostolic See, the representatives dared to meet at Bologna, and, in their so-called National Assembly, to promulgate a decree full of false accusations and false pretexts, in which they falsely asserted the unanimity of the people against the rights of the Church, declaring they would no longer submit to the rule of the Pontifical government ; declaring also, as is now the fashion, their desire to unite and acknowledge the sway of the King of Sardinia." This Pontifical document proceeds to praise the faithful and the clergy, declaring the acts of rebellion to be "null and void," threatening ecclesiastical censure, and concluding with the prayer that "God, rich in mercy, may, in the omnipotence of His power, bring back to better counsels, and to a life of justice, religion, and salvation, all the erring,

of whom some, perhaps, miserably deceived, knew not what they did."

Up to this time the Pope had not threatened with excommunication, but had only admonished, that all would fall under excommunication whose counsels, work, and approval, had led to the violation of the Papal power and jurisdiction in the rebellious provinces. Meanwhile Pius IX. suffered no occasion to escape for protesting against the events which were taking place. On September 24 the deputations of the Legations were received at Monza with sovereign honours by Victor Emmanuel, surrounded by his Ministers and dignitaries of State. The Pope, angered, and no longer willing to listen to counsels of moderation, on October 1 returned his passports to Count della Minerva. He departed on the 9th, and Sardinia was represented by a Consul who remained until 1863.

What particularly irritated the Pope were the clever speeches made by Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. Clever they were, but the Papal Court and Legitimist party considered them hypocritical, and far less amiable terms were employed by the Catholic press. To call themselves Catholics, wrote these papers, to profess the highest reverence for the Holy Father and to rob him of his territory, first to foment and then to legalise the acts of the revolutionists, and to employ underhand means was a course of mystification and falsehood. The chief attacks were directed against Victor Emmanuel, a Catholic King and son

of the mystic Charles Albert. But neither side erred on the side of sincerity. On August 15 of that year, the *fête* of Napoleon III., General Goyon gave a banquet of many courses, and his guests included Cardinal Antonelli. His arrival was announced by the playing of the French National Hymn. He drank a fulsome toast to the Emperor, and Goyon, in return, toasted the Pope, whom he maligned in private. Goyon's double dealing, however, was no longer a secret.

It would be superfluous to detail other circumstances which revealed the Pope's morbid hatred of the Italian cause. Having learnt that the National Committee proposed presenting Napoleon III. with a sword and an address, the Pope did all in his power to frustrate their design, because the National Committee intended to honour Victor Emmanuel in the same way. Then when he saw it was inevitable, he intrigued in order that the Emperor should not accept the gift, informed the French government that the proposed gift had no importance, for only four of the Roman nobility had subscribed the address. He succeeded in so far, that though Napoleon accepted the gift, he sent an ambiguous and embarrassed answer in acknowledgment.

Although the probability was very slight that a Confederation of the Italian States could be formed under the presidency of the Pope, Pius IX. had agreed to the plan since July 23, as he also gave his adhesion to the plan of a European Congress at

which the Italian question should be discussed upon the basis agreed upon at Villafranca. But he accompanied his declaration of adhesion with a letter dated December 2, which seemed indited on purpose to squash the Congress plan. He stated that, though willing to adhere to the Congress, he did not intend to accept accomplished facts nor to resign himself to them; he repeated his protests, reiterated his demands, and demanded of Napoleon that he should support him at the Congress in his endeavours to regain his lost provinces. His letter, presented in person to the Emperor by the Papal Nuncio, annoyed the monarch. He was especially struck by the Pope's obstinacy. Instead of thanking him for all he had done on his behalf, he created obstacles, that might once more disturb European peace, by continuing to complain and refusing to accept the inevitable. When receiving the Archbishop of Bordeaux, on October 12, Napoleon remarked: "The government, which re-established the sovereign Pontiff, tenders advice, inspired by respectful and sincere devotion; but it feels anxious in view of the day, that is not far distant, when the French troops will evacuate Rome, for Europe cannot permit an indefinite occupation. And when the troops are withdrawn, will they leave anarchy and terror or peace behind them? These are the questions which must be solved." It was with this end in view that Napoleon inspired Viscount de Laguerronière to write the pamphlet, "Le Pape et le Congrès," which

provoked so much discussion, and that he replied to the Pope in that memorable letter in the *Moniteur* of December 31, which emphasised the pamphlet even more authoritatively, thereby fanning the anger of the Vatican, and inspiring Pius IX. to issue another more violent encyclical, whose only conciliatory phrase consisted in the statement that when the revolted provinces returned to their allegiance, he would then consider the "advisability" of granting certain reforms.

The impression produced in Rome, first by Laguerronière's pamphlet and then by Napoleon's letter, was disastrous, both in the Liberal and the clerical camp. The former recognised that if the necessity of the temporal power, even if restricted to Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter's, was to be regarded as a dogma, every hope of liberation from Pontifical rule was excluded. The latter recognised that if what the revolution had accomplished in the Legations was to be regarded as final, the Revolution itself was thereby legalised. Wherefore both parties were at one, for different reasons, in desiring that the Congress should not take place. And their wishes were gratified, since the Pope demonstrated by his refusals the impossibility of a conciliatory revolution. Napoleon, who had launched the proposal, after Villafranca, saw it extinguished without regret. So convinced did he become of the impossibility of doing better, that he returned to his scheme of an alliance with Piedmont, that is, to form a kingdom of

from ten to twelve million souls with the cession of Nice and Savoy to France. The Congress was indefinitely postponed, and Walewski, an irrepressible Italianophobe, was succeeded in the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs by Marquis de Thouvenel, who was more kindly disposed towards New Italy.

The early days of 1860 promised well for the Italian cause. The Congress scheme having failed, a plebiscite was decreed in the four Legations, whose formula was Annexation to the Monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.

It was then that Pius IX. had recourse to the most formidable weapon at his command: the greater Excommunication, which, with all mediæval pomp, was pronounced on April 23, 1860, that is to say, *post festum*, for the plebiscite took place in March. No particular individuals were named, but all, beginning with the King of Sardinia, who had taken part or should take part in the plebiscite, or in any way, even outside of Italy, should assist by work or will in the accomplishment of the new order of things, or in any way profit by it, were included. This Bull, until a few years ago, was the chief weapon of the Episcopacy and the Italian clergy, in the keen struggle between the Vatican and New Italy—a terrible weapon, because many times it was enforced at death-beds. It was on this account that Father Giacomo, who had administered the last Sacrament to Cavour, was summoned to Rome and severely reprimanded. Cavour had not recanted, nor

repented, and therefore should not have received the Sacrament. Father Giacomo replied that he had only done his duty towards one of his sons, born and bred in the bosom of the Church like all his ancestors.

But much graver events were to occur in that memorable year of 1860, when, despite infinite and unforeseen difficulties, the Unity of Italy was accomplished, and Savoy and Nice became French provinces.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNIVERSITY

IN 1859 the Roman University, known as Sapienza, was frequented by more students than it had numbered for twenty years past. They were natives of every province of the Papal States. The Rector, Father Bonfiglio Mura, a Sardinian by birth, was a humpback. So strict was he, and so much hated, that on September 20 he was sought for in his convent, and it was lucky for him that he could not be found. The Chancellor of the University was Cardinal Ludovico Altieri. The Sapienza stood first among Italian Universities, both on account of the number of subjects taught and of the erudition of the teachers, among whom some first-class men were included.

The professors drew salaries at a monthly rate of one hundred and sixty-five *lire* (about £5 10s.). The laboratories and museums were poorly endowed. The professors were, or had to appear orthodox. A teacher was called upon to demonstrate that the Deluge really occurred and was a manifestation of Divine wrath, and in physics it was necessary to be careful not to clash, even in the remotest way, with

Catholic belief. All ceremonies were conducted with ecclesiastical solemnity. Each college had its distinctive dress. The Cardinal Chancellor, in *cappa magna*, and the members of the various colleges in their respective costumes, were present at examinations. The competing students were dressed as ecclesiastics, for it was ever to be insisted on that science could not exist except under a beretta.

The degree of Bachelor was conferred after the first year's study; no examinations took place in the second; in the third, degrees in medicine and law were bestowed; and in the fourth, the doctor's degree. But in order to be able to practise, that is, to obtain *matriculum libere exercendi*, in these last professions, a fifth and sixth year of study was necessary. Six years' curriculum was also required for matriculation—three in the schools and three in the hospitals; and for engineers, three at the University and three in the Engineering Schools.

Students were forbidden to smoke or bring in sticks or umbrellas. These had to be left with the porter, and anyone breaking these rules was subject to immediate expulsion, for in those days neither Cardinal Altieri nor Father Mura showed mercy. Nevertheless, the Sapienza became a veritable hotbed of political agitation, and remained so until 1864; but in 1859 and 1860 the demonstrations and disturbances exceeded all bounds.

New pretexts for noisy manifestations were always being invented. Scarcely had the war broken out

than large tricoloured placards appeared with a sun in the centre, and inscribed on its disc the date of the year "1859," and the same figure repeated vertically, thus :

1
8
5
9
—
23
—

23 being also repeated in writing VENTITRE, these letters being initials for *Vittorio Emanuele, Napoleone Terzo, Italia Tutta Ricongiunta Eternamente* (Victor Emmanuel, Napoleon III. All Italy for Ever United).

At the University, in the theatres, and even in the streets, the question was constantly heard, "*Piove ?*" ("Does it rain ?"), and the reply, "*Non Piove*" ("It does not rain") ; the question meaning, "*Pio, o Vittorio Emanuele ?*" ("Pius or Victor Emmanuel ?"), and the answer, "*Non Pio, Vittorio Emanuele*" ("Not Pius, Victor Emmanuel"). On March 28, 1860, some students let fly a number of birds bearing tricoloured ribbons and arousing an uproar. The students from the Romagna being the most turbulent were sent back to their province under escort. Among them were a future Prime Minister and a future Senator of the kingdom of Italy. They had arranged for a *Te Deum* to be sung in the church of the Sapienza, to honour the result of the plebiscite in

Tuscany and Romagna. Lectures were suspended until further orders, but the demonstrations and expulsions continued. A student's expulsion was communicated to his particular professor in order that his name might be erased from the list; but in spite of wholesale evictions every day national flags were seen flying from monuments, inside and outside of churches, or anywhere that they could be fixed. Inflammatory notices were posted in the corridors of the Sapienza and in the neighbouring streets. One day a huge tricoloured flag was flown from the campanile of San Crisogono, another from the church of the Trinitari, and a third from the telegraph wires at Ripetta. The students in their daring went even further. At the suggestion of the National Committee, they indited an enthusiastic address of devotion to Victor Emmanuel, which was signed by six hundred and thirty-five.

Very amusing was a game, invented with musical notes, that was heard everywhere in those days, in the halls of the University, in the streets, in the theatres:

"L'Austria piena di debiti abborisce il	Do
La Prussia sempre indecisa non dice mai	Sì
Il Papa fà gli ultimi sforzi per esser	Re
L'Inghilterra in qualunque questione risponde	Mi
L'Italia guarda Roma e Venezia e dice	Là
Il Temporale per non cadere vorrebbe fermare il	Sol
E in mezzo a tante ciarle la sola Francia	Fa.
E sol, do, re, mi, fa—L'Italia si farà	
E do, re, mi, fa, sol—si fà, chè Dio lo vuol	
E si, re, sol, mi, do—Gigin lo proclamò	
E fa, sol, re, do, mi—Dev' essere cosi	

E la, do, si, sol, re—il Papa non è Re.
E sol, mi, fa, do, la—Roma di noi sarà
E si, si, si, si, si,—A rivederci li." [1]

Not all the students, however, were animated by Liberal ideas. Some sided with the Pope and were pugnacious and provocative, and hence blows were sometimes exchanged. These Papal partisans were mostly the sons of functionaries and clients of the Vatican, nephews of cardinals and Monsignori, anxious to attain promotion, therefore they sought to make friends with the police. To distinguish themselves they wore in their cravats a pin in the form of a reversed cross, the Cross of St. Peter, by which they might be easily recognised, even outside the University.

The manifestation of December 8, 1861, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, organised by the most zealous Papists, in which police agents and Neapolitan exiles took part, was followed by a

[1] "Austria, full of debts abhors the — *Do* (Give)
Prussia, ever undecided, never says — *Si* (Yes)
The Pope makes his last effort to be — *Re* (King)
England to every question answers — *Mi* (but)
Italy gazes at Rome and Venice and says — *La* (There)
The Temporal Power to keep from falling stops the movement of the — *Sol* (Earth)
And France alone amid all the noise — *Fa* (Acts).
And *sol*, etc. Italy will be made.
And *do*, etc. Will be made because God wills.
And *si*, etc. Gigin has proclaimed it.
And *fa*, etc. Thus it must be.
And *la*, etc. The Pope is not King.
And *sol*, etc. Rome will be ours.
And *si, si, si, si, si*— We'll meet again there."

counter demonstration by the Liberal students and proved an occasion for blows and disorders. This recurred again during the first days of February, resulting in further expulsions.

As a consequence of these fresh expulsions, the students clandestinely printed two protests, addressed to Cardinal Altieri, and freely distributed in the University and all the shops near by. The protests bore a stamp with the Cross of Savoy, and the words: "*Università Romana.*" The second of these addresses was provoked by the repressions that followed the disturbances of April 12, in which the students broke the baldachino erected in honour of Pius IX. and smashed his bust. Needless to enumerate other demonstrations, such as the posting of notices upon the walls of the Sapienza, of portraits of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, of subversive sentences and funny puns, or to record the names of all the youths expelled, or who voluntarily left to enrol themselves in the national army or to follow Garibaldi.

By order of the National Committee, the students were forbidden to take part in the Carnival of 1861, consequently they abstained from joining the Corso, where only about twelve carriages containing French officers and some ladies of doubtful reputation were to be seen, the students preferring to go to the Pincio and singing Liberal songs.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TWO COMMITTEES

AFTER 1853 it was not possible to bring any conspiracy to a successful conclusion. Following the examples of Naples, where the police had instituted a class called "*attendibili*" (those to be watched), Rome had created another under the name of "*precettati*" (cited, summoned). The slightest shade of a suspicion was sufficient for a residentiary card to be served upon the suspected person, prescribing the hours at which he must return home and the dates when he must receive the Sacrament. Any infraction whatsoever was sufficient for the withdrawal of the card—which had to be renewed every fortnight—and the expelling of the transgressor. Should he prove contumacious he was imprisoned, and remained there at the pleasure of the police for months and years, without trial and without any hope of release, unless by means of powerful influences. During the first six months of 1857, thanks to the efficient efforts and management of the Sardinian Legation, the supervision over the conspirators was considerably relaxed; many citizens, who till then had remained in the

background, joined the party, and thus gradually was constituted that mysterious body, calling itself the "National Roman Committee," which played so large a part in the politics of Rome. It started without any device, theatrical oath-taking, or sectarian discipline; nothing, in short, resembling the Society of the Carbonari, which had counted not a few followers in Rome.

Little by little, the National Roman Committee grew in volume, its members increasing as the political fortunes of Piedmont improved.

In 1860 the Committee numbered six thousand adherents, divided into sections and squadrons, and organised with such a mixture of simplicity and cunning that all police efforts failed to stamp it out or to hinder its activity. In the whole group, which comprised men of all ages and every social standing, there was never found an informer or traitor. The greatest difficulty that faced this new conspiracy was the attitude to maintain towards France, who, though it had re-established the temporal power, and guaranteed it by an Army of Occupation, under the command of intolerable and hateful officers, and diplomatically was represented by men of light or untrustworthy character, yet held out hopes that it would assist in driving out the Austrians, not only from Lombardy-Venetia, but from the Legations and the Marches. Hence, to avoid compromising the national undertaking, the new conspiracy had to be animated by an almost heroic disinterestedness in order that the anti-Papal sentiment in its politics should never degenerate

into an anti-religious movement, and that it should be clearly understood that, while fighting against the temporal power, there was no intention to attack either the Pope's religious authority or the doctrines of the Church; in short, it was needful to insist in every way on the Italian character of Rome, to provoke no tumults, and, still less, an insurrection which, suppressed by the French and Pontifical troops, might compromise the cause of Italy.

The situation was most difficult, the Moderate party considering that any part taken by Rome in its own emancipation was legitimate, but was not to be regarded as the principal aim of success. All this must be borne in mind in judging the National Roman Committee and its leaders, who became the target of attacks and calumnies from the party of action in all Italy. They were called the Committee of Mallows; it was whispered that its chiefs were sold to the government of Turin, and for that reason its inaction was due to interest, cowardice or treason. The political necessity at which they aimed was not recognised by the Republican party, and still less by Mazzini. They, on the contrary, envious of the success of the monarchy and hostile to the Emperor of the French, were partisans of extreme measures, for which an explanation can be found in the inherent difficulties of the Roman problem, that seemed ever more insoluble. On the one hand stood the Pope, who would make no concessions; on the other, the Imperial idealist, who oscillated between chimerical

projects. Then, too, the Liberals had to be reckoned with, who, at all costs, desired to bring about the downfall of the temporal power. All these difficulties account for the fact that disputes between the two Roman Committees never ceased. It was a contention of tendencies, a struggle between violent and half measures; between Radicalism, which acknowledged no difficulties, and the more moderate school, which allowed itself to be influenced, perhaps too much, by the exigency of the situation.

In 1859 and 1860 the National Committee became a government within a government. If the patricians did not contribute largely to the movement they did nothing to impede it, while the wealthy factors and all grades of professional men were enrolled in its ranks. The Committee found more adherents and accomplices than it had dared to hope for, chiefly, of course, among the younger men, who sought by every means to pass the frontier and join either Garibaldi or the regular army. The University had become a fountain-head of agitation, the theatres of noisy demonstrations. The men who had fought in Venetia and on the Janiculum, ten years previously, returned to the front. It must be remembered also that not only was the Pontifical government hated by Liberal laymen, but it was disliked by the nobles, as well as by those clergy who had no such share in power as their ambition or cupidity desired. Thus a section of the aristocracy and of the ecclesiastical orders favoured the work of the Committee. Even among the clericals

there were men who did not disguise their dislike to the general political tendencies, as well as to Cardinal Antonelli's system of government, accused as he was of simony by the Banca Romana and the railways. The Liberal cause had many sympathisers, too, among the Diplomatic Corps, especially Secretaries of the Prussian Legation and the French Embassy. The American Minister was also in sympathy, and, still more, some years after, was the English Minister, Odo Russell.

It is not true that the National Committee held their meetings in the house of the Castellanis, nor that this family took part in it. Fortunato and Augusto Castellani continued the goldsmith's work initiated by their father, and carried to perfection under the supervision of the Duke of Sermoneta. They never belonged to any committee. A restless atmosphere, but of the least compromising form, pervaded their workshop, the goal of many illustrious men who visited Rome. Some went to them to purchase, some to give or receive advice, diplomats and writers flocking there to obtain State and city news, as the Castellanis were always well informed. Hence the influence exercised by their workshop was far reaching. The government, however, could not close its doors, for no occasion to do so ever presented itself, and also Augusto's wife was a daughter of the Minister Farina. The National Committee never had fixed headquarters; its meeting-places were certain streets, piazzas, churches, shops, pharmacies, the avenues of the Pincio, and, above all, the theatres,

where the conspirators were dispersed in the pit and the gallery.

It had a secret printing-office in a country house, whose compositors and pressmen were chosen from the sons of its members. It assumed the imposing title of the National Printing Press. The police, in spite of all its efforts, never succeeded in discovering the whereabouts of this typography, which gave them constant annoyance with its publication of every kind of proclamation, notice, and manifesto.

Though the demonstrations of 1859, by favour of the French troops, resulted in no expulsions or seclusions, those of 1860 were scattered by the *gendarmes*, and led to arrest and exile. The Easter disturbances were suggested to Pantaleoni by Cavour. Cavour desired that a Liberal and monarchical demonstration should take place in Rome on the days when the King of Piedmont first visited Florence and Bologna after the publication of the plebiscite. Though the banishments were numerous, the Committee's activity did not relax. After having promoted a subscription for the gift of one hundred cannons to the city of Alessandria, for a gold medal to Count Cavour, and for a token to the Piedmontese soldiers who had returned from the Crimea, it got up another for the gift of a sword to Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III., swords designed by the Duke of Sermoneta and executed in the Castellani establishment. The address to Napoleon concluded thus: "The great author of your dynasty lamented that time had failed him to

make of Italy a powerful nation, which, through position and unity of race and instincts would have been the natural ally of France. You, great as he, have understood that the time has come to raise this mighty edifice, and to engrave your name upon it."

The Committee continued to collect large sums of money, which it sent, either to Garibaldi in Sicily, or distributed among the Roman soldiers to encourage their desertion, or equipped volunteers for Sicily, Florence, or Turin. They also presented Victor Emmanuel with fifty horses, chosen from the finest Roman studs, and, under the form of an anticipatory plebiscite, they forwarded a new and warm address from the Roman citizens, bearing ten thousand signatures, which included those of every social grade, even of the clergy and nobility. This address concluded with the following words: "Civilised Europe, Sire, believes that, if a nation has the right to choose its own capital, Rome cannot be denied to Italy unless force takes the place of right and justice. Meanwhile Rome awaits you, Sire; she stretches out her arms to you, she claims that your flag, the flag of Italy, shall fly from the ancient Capitol." Victor Emmanuel replied as follows: "I hope your desires will shortly be fulfilled. It has ever been my wish that Italy shall be ONE, and for that Rome is necessary; we are near our goal. The victory, which must be won, is entirely a moral one."

During those agitated years, 1859 and 1860, indeed, until the last months of 1861, the banishments and

arrests which took place in Rome could no longer be numbered, but no one was afraid. The only one to fear, especially after Castelfidardo and the fall of Ancona, was the government. To some frank remarks made by Odo Russell in regard to police abuses in arresting and exiling without trial, Cardinal Antonelli replied that "it was not possible to bring up the persons for trial because the police did not exile, but only as a matter of precaution they obliged the agitators to absent themselves for a time so as to prevent new demonstrations." In the same way perquisitions were made, without lawful authority. The police announced: "We must search, and if you have any complaint to make, make it." All this did not lack its comic side, and even caused Pius IX. amusement. One day, in the drapers' shops, all white, red, and green muslins were seized. The President of the Trevi Quarter ordered the studio of the sculptor Wolff to be searched, it being reported that he was the owner of a picture representing Victor Emmanuel surrounded by revolutionaries. The agent went there and found the picture, but it represented Maximilian of Bavaria, and, among the great revolutionaries who surrounded him were Pericles, Mæcenas, Augustus, Leo X., Clement VII., and Lorenzo il Magnifico. This incident gave rise to much laughter, and people laughed yet more when it was known that at Velletri, at the election of a new Gonfaloniere, upon drawing the lots, Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and Napoleon III. were found to have been proposed.

Despite banishments and arrests, the government was uneasy. All these enforced emigrants proved active agitators, discrediting the government in every way and constituting a permanent danger to the State. The zealous among the nobility desired to comfort Pius IX. with a new address, but they obtained few signatures.

If the National Committee erred in the direction of prudence, the militant party never measured the means to the end. They thought everything easy of accomplishment, and every device legitimate that was against their political enemy. These men remained violent partisans, even in their speeches. For them the King of Sardinia was ever the son of the "execrated Carignano"; Napoleon III. was the restorer of the temporal power, the man of December 2, the executioner of Orsini; any person dissenting from their opinion was a traitor, sold to Piedmont and its Prime Minister, upon whose head their hatred concentrated *pari passu*, as his ability and luck brought about the triumph of national independence in the form of a monarchical government. They continued to sing the same old song that, with the Monarchy in Italy and the Empire in France, it was impossible that liberty could be established, and that revolutions and popular disturbances, as well as a war of extermination against the priests, regardless of the weapons employed, must continue. Villafranca furnished them with new arguments against the Utopian scheme of liberating Rome with the help of France. It must be

remembered, however, that, as far as the Roman question was concerned, the Republican party was certainly the most logical. Its *à priori* argument that Rome would never obtain its liberty with the consent or goodwill of imperial France, was more justifiable than the other *à priori* argument that it was necessary to reach Rome, through moral suasion and in agreement with France. But what success was probable for a popular revolution such as the Republicans considered the only remedy? None whatever. When the Romans were reproached for not bestirring themselves, and the National Committee for putting them to sleep or for distracting them with childish demonstrations, it was forgotten that there were two armies, and what with the number of young men who had left to join the field and the exiled and imprisoned citizens, the remaining elements for a successful rising were much reduced. Besides, it must be noted, that the Pontifical government was not hated in Rome as the Austrian was in Milan or the Bourbon in Sicily. It was at the head of a vast network of municipal and international, political and religious interests, and, as every insurrection would have to be accomplished under the cry of "Down with the priests!" this cry would not necessarily have found universal support among the nobles, ecclesiastics, or a certain part of the citizens. The men of the National Committee found themselves upon the horns of a dilemma; they must either make a vain attempt, or they must resign themselves to doing nothing. The truth was that they believed that an insurrection in Rome

would end in failure, and therefore they discouraged the idea, remembering that the revolution in Milan of 1848 only succeeded because it was unexpected; that if it had succeeded at Palermo it was suppressed in Naples; that in 1859 the Legations only rose after the departure of the Austrians; that no risings took place in Milan, Brescia, or Venice; and that, finally, Palermo in 1860, rose only when Garibaldi, at the head of his troops, entered the city. These cautious principles still prevailed in 1867 and 1870.

The followers of Mazzini, on the contrary, felt themselves to be isolated, and they did not willingly resign themselves to that position. As a result of the Liberal evolution, the reasons for which we have traced, the most accredited passed over to the monarchical side, the kingdom of Naples produced no Republicans, Tuscany only counted a few, while still fewer came from Venetia and Lombardy. They were also in the minority in Romagna itself. Of the ancient provinces, Genoa alone, prior to 1859, could call itself Republican; but in that year she also had sided with Garibaldi and Bixio. Neither had all Italian Republicans remained followers of Mazzini, like the Romans. Even Garibaldi had detached himself from him.

But all this was not understood, and was even thought to be the result of treason, and, consequently, the two Roman Committees brought many accusations against each other. The Nationalists accused the other faction of spending the money sent by

Mazzini in feasts outside the walls, and called them beggars, visionaries, and carpet knights; the Committee of Action, in their turn, paid them back in their own coin, inciting popular hatred against them, involving rich and poor in the same dislike, in consequence of which the political struggle degenerated into a class struggle. Credence was also given to the rumour that the money collected for the monument to Cavour in Rome had ended in the pockets of some of the promoters, while the National Committee remembered the unexplained destination of the Mazzini loan in 1851. The words spoken by Massimo D'Azeglio : " The Romans, by reason of their historical traditions, can never be other than Republicans or Papists," seemed to be confirmed.

The struggle grew more acute. In 1863, in place of anonymous notices, the Committee of Action published a weekly paper, bearing as its title Garibaldi's famous battle-cry, "*Roma o morte!*" It appeared as a double-columned, four-sheeted journal, and was issued by a small printing-office hidden in the house of a priest. The headline ran : " Rome or Death, a Weekly Democratic Paper," and the third line read : " Published in Rome, under the dominion of the Pope and the protection of the French Army." On the right-hand column in leaded type was printed, " Liberty," on the left " Unity." The articles, which often continued over several issues, aimed at persuading the Romans to abandon all hope of help and to trust only in themselves. They must distrust the

Italian government, who would never do anything for Rome, having been sold to Napoleon. They preached hatred against the Pontifical government and scorn of religion ; they advocated rebellion in every shape. If it was needful to touch polemical questions, their titles were of this nature : " To that disgusting thing called '*Veridico*' " (truth). The "*Veridico*" was a clerical sheet, and the articles would end with sentences like the following : " We ask pardon of our readers for presenting ourselves before their eyes with our hands covered with mud. But this must happen to all who fall in with thee, *Oh Veridico.*"

In Rome, anti-monarchical and anti-Napoleonic sentiments found many adherents among the populace, and not only among those who had remained faithful to Mazzini's doctrines, but among those who saw that the idea of obtaining Rome through moral suasion and an understanding with France was hopeless. Hence the propaganda of the little paper was dangerous. It was then that a section of the National Committee decided upon the suppression of the "*Roma o Morte.*" Disguised as *gendarmes*, they invaded the house and carried off the press and types. But the party of action refused to acknowledge themselves beaten ; they re-established the printing-office, and a new press was brought from Perugia by Count Ugolini, an ardent follower of Mazzini, and set up in a vineyard outside Porta S. Pancrazio.

CHAPTER XX

THE HOLY SEE PREPARES FOR DEFENCE

WHEN in January, 1860, Cavour returned to office, belief in the unification of Italy once more revived. During the six months of Rattazi's feeble administration it seemed as though the success of the movement, especially in Central Italy, was endangered. Indeed, all would have been lost but for the wisdom of the population and their assemblies, and for the labours of Farini and Ricasoli. These men who seemed to have intuitive foreknowledge, had never allowed themselves to be discouraged by doubts, exercising their respective dictatorships with such force of authority as if they were sovereign potentates, prudent and powerful, yet enterprising, opposing both extreme parties and diplomatic intrigues. All idea of a Congress having evaporated, the Roman Court saw, through its own acts, all hope of regaining its lost provinces gradually vanish, and, worse still, saw that Piedmont, at once the ally and dominant factor of the revolution, was surrounding as with an iron band, the remaining State from Cattolica to the extreme Tuscan

frontier. Nor were Rome or the Marches quiet, in spite of renewed banishments and arrests. The Ultramontanes denounced the politics of the Curia as feeble, and demanded armed resistance, seeing it was useless to put further trust in Napoleon III. Even if after Garibaldi's exit from the Army of the League, the danger of an invasion of the Marches had diminished, causes for disquietude still remained.

It was known that bodies of volunteers were being organised round about Grosseto and Siena, and uneasy rumours penetrated from Naples and Sicily. A substantial defence became imperative, and the man who declared himself ready to organise it was the Belgian *Cameriere segreto*, Monsignor Saverio de Merode. He had served as a soldier before entering the priesthood, he bore a great name, possessed a large fortune, and was a visionary who never adjusted his means to his ends. The idea of raising a Catholic army in defence of the Holy See, that it might not be despoiled of its last possessions, was due to him. He plunged into this enterprise with more haste than intelligence, evoking the Legitimist and Catholic influences of Europe to come to the Pope's defence. Veuillot, in France, with his *Univers*, had opened such an active campaign as to draw down reproof and some seizures ; the Austrian papers gave their assistance, and the *Civiltà Cattolica* fought, not without courage, for the same cause. But it was not enough to reinforce the army; an able general of undoubted faith was needed to lead, and De Merode remembered

Cristofano de Lamoricière, a relative who had fought with such distinction in the African war as to gain the title of "Hero of Constantine." After December 2, he had retired to Belgium, professing an unconquerable aversion for Napoleon III. and an ardent belief in the Legitimist cause. An allowance was assigned to him, which, with salary and indemnities combined, reached the total of eighty thousand *lire*, and on Easter Day, 1860, he assumed the command of the Pontifical Army. In his first address to his troops he said:

"The Revolution, as formerly Islam, to-day menaces Europe, and to-day, as formerly, the cause of the Pope is that of civilisation and the liberty of the world."

Ten days later, the Pope, in accordance with Ultramontane desires, appointed De Merode Pro-Minister of War. Cardinal Antonelli and his partisans took a prudent stand and refrained from criticising. Pius IX. had fallen completely under the sway of the Ultramontanes, who, on the one hand, undertook to defend the temporal power and to crush the revolution, and, on the other, tried to persuade the Pope of the necessity of excluding from the Vatican almost all indigenous elements whom they held were corrupt and treacherous.

On taking office, Lamoricière showed scant consideration for the Ministerial officials. He discovered that the Ministry owned no topographical office, and that artillery, ambulances, and horses were lacking.

He complained of the abuses which he discovered, and, still more, of the rivalry between the indigenous and foreign elements, which were many and marked.

But neither the efforts of the Commander-in-Chief nor those of his Chief of the Staff, nor the help of youthful Legitimists sufficed to form an army. De Merode, in his military endeavours, exhibited all the activity of an almost epileptic nature. To call men from all countries, to form regiments without any technical knowledge and without the necessary arms, to choose leaders either unknown or of bad repute, such were the results of his labours. Hundreds of volunteers arrived, among them Austrians, liberated from prison; turbulent and undisciplined Swiss; Spanish beggars, starving Irish, whom it was impossible to persuade to wear decent uniforms or even to carry a sack to hold their belongings. It had been decided to clothe them in a green uniform, consisting of pantaloons with large pockets, which became the repositories for food, clothes, and ammunition. They were incredibly dirty and immoral, the most turbulent claiming their pay with menaces.

Besides these, De Merode formed a regiment of volunteers drawn from the Ciociara, baptised by the Romans *barbacani*, who preferred robbery and pillage to military glory. This was the only native element which could be collected. To harangue, to pay surprise visits to the barracks, to hold reviews, to dream of battles, such was De Merode's life. Though under the delusion that he had destroyed all Antonelli's

influence, he continued to attack him and all the Italian elements at Court. The "Hero of Constantine" swore to annihilate the enemy, whom he called the "New followers of Islam." As he was at the moment high in Lamoricière's favour he was made a Roman noble and citizen. He also obtained the Grand Cordon of the "Piano" Order and a subscription was opened to present him with a sword of honour.

Rome had lost its peaceful and apostolic character. Catholics from all quarters of the world, urged by episcopal zeal and registration committees, poured into the city. The Italians were least represented, and these came almost without exception from the still subject provinces. The majority came from abroad. A certain Catelinau conceived the idea of forming a religious, military, and international order, whose warcry should be "San Pietro! San Pietro!" and whose banner should bear the image of the Virgin Mary with a cross, reversed, on a blue field, in memory of the martyrdom of St. Peter. It was, indeed, to be called the "Order of St. Peter." The proposed statutes were laid before the Pope, but were not taken seriously, and those who discredited them most were the Jesuits.

Working together in full accord, Lamoricière and De Merode had appealed to all the Legitimists in the world, requesting arms and money in defence of the Pontiff and religion; and their words did not fall on deaf ears. The Duchess of Parma sent eight cannons, the Duke de La Rochefoucauld twelve

Cardinal Altieri.

Don Fernando Munoz.

General de Lamoricière.

Prince Filippo Doria Panfili.

howitzers, made in Belgium, with the inscription, "La Rochefoucauld à Pie IX." Enrolments were made outside the churches, on the Piazzas, amid the blessings of bishops and the sermons of parish priests. The financial offerings were sent to the Pope and to Lamoricière, who requested Pius IX. to appoint a Commission to collect them. The Pontiff named the English, French, and German cardinals—Wiseman, Villecourt, and Reisach—and Monsignor Ferrari, Minister of Finance. These offerings attained the sum of three hundred thousand *scudi*, and were of no little help to the reduced Pontifical funds in those days of squandering.

A Committee of Public Safety was also formed, with headquarters in the Palazzo Pamphili, and in direct communication with the police. The government made no secret of the fact that it had lost all trust in France and must depend on its own efforts. The hatred against Napoleon became so violent that he was called "the devil's firstborn," "the man with thirteen consciences"; while the *Civiltà Cattolica* spared him no opprobrious epithet.

The Legitimist movement, which, under the guise of religion, was really political; this army, commanded by a determined enemy of the Empire and organised by a turbulent prelate, aroused misgiving in France. The Emperor was ill-served by his representative in Rome, who did not grasp the perils of a cosmopolitan conspiracy, supported by the new Austrian Ambassador,

Baron Hübner, who allowed the belief in an imminent war to go uncontradicted. One Austrian victory, he said, would suffice to undo all the Revolution had obtained in Italy, to humiliate French influence and to give an unforgetable lesson to Piedmont. This, also, was the Pope's belief and that of his government and partisans. But Austria, paralysed by non-intervention and the fear of insurrections in Hungary, did not stir. Kossuth, Thürr, and Klapka were in Italy, and Austria was not ignorant of their intrigues with Cavour, the formation of the Hungarian Legion, and the intention of carrying the revolution beyond the Leit. The three Hungarians were also friends of Garibaldi. What further increased the diffidence felt towards Napoleon, was the letter he wrote to the promoters of the address and the gift of the sword of honour. Although that letter revealed the writer's embarrassment and stated what was not exactly true —that is, that the Holy Father's government had approved the gift—the mere fact that the letter was written irritated the Pontifical government and humiliated De Goyon, who had done all in his power to induce the Emperor to refuse the gift. The Liberals rejoiced, but somewhat cautiously.

Napoleon had written :

" Palace of the Tuileries,

" April 20, 1860.

" Gentlemen,—I accept with pleasure the sword you have offered me in your name and in that of your

fellow-citizens of Rome on the occasion of the Italian War. This spontaneous proof of your sentiments has pleased me the more in that it has met with the entire approval of the Holy Father's government. Receive my most sincere thanks, and I beg you to convey the same to those who have participated in your thought.

"Believe me, gentlemen,

"Yours with all esteem,

"NAPOLEON."

But very different events were about to occur. At the beginning of May, General Garibaldi had landed in Sicily and taken possession of the island. And since success followed upon success, he crossed to the Continent on August 21, and marched rapidly upon Naples, encountering no resistance. He entered the city September 7, angered against Cavour, and was at once surrounded by the hottest partisans of the party of action, as well as by the chief Italian and French Republicans, with Mazzini at their head. Naples had become the hotbed of European revolution. The Dictator would listen to no moderate counsels; he imperatively demanded that Victor Emmanuel should dismiss Cavour, and made no secret of his plans to march upon Rome, to drive out the Pope and the French, and, with the assistance of the Hungarians, to free Venetia. The political situation was very critical during the first half of September, and it was then that the power, foresight, and bold

genius of Cavour made itself manifest. He conceived the idea of destroying, by an unexpected blow, Lamoricière's army, to effect a union with the South, and thus to save, by the unity of Italy, the authority of the Crown. He himself, later on, considered this daring inspiration his best claim to fame. "The monarchy would have been lost had we not quickly reached Volturno."

The real truth is Napoleon had no desire to see Italy united; he had done all in his power to prevent the union with Tuscany, and when the march through Cattolica was accomplished, a true Rubicon for its results, he was strangely perturbed and recalled his Minister from Turin. Nevertheless, when he received Nigra in farewell audience, he said, pressing his hand cordially, "*Au revoir, mon cher Nigra.*" Napoleon had not his uncle's outbursts of choleric anger; he spoke little, and the most energetic words which passed his lips in moments of excitement were "*C'est absurde!*" He affected a great impenetrability, but on this occasion he perhaps showed his hand too much, and Cavour, with his political genius, perceived that he might venture. It was necessary to cross the frontier to disperse the Pontifical army, and to hasten to Naples to fulfil an almost imperative duty towards Europe, towards Napoleon III., menaced by revolutionists and Legitimists, and towards the cause of order. "Our plan must appear to be a *coup de tête* to those who have not carefully weighed the difficulties in which we find ourselves; but I am convinced it is

the only means to issue from them with honour," wrote Cavour on September 12, 1860, to an intimate friend. In truth, a *coup de tête*, but how carefully its consequences had been weighed and measured, documents published in later years have revealed. The troops placed upon a war footing, under the command of a great leader, Fanti, surrounded the Papal frontier with two army corps, one at Cattolica, under the command of Cialdini, the other at Arezzo, under Della Rocca. Cavour was strangely restless during those days, for he understood all the need for haste, and sought every opportunity to realise his plans.

He was convinced that all would fail if the progress of the Garibaldian revolution were not hindered by some means—even by force. No occasion or pretext, however, presented itself for declaring war on the Pope, for invading his provinces, breaking up his army and so marching upon Naples. But Cavour was not deterred by these obstacles. When, on September 7, he received the news that Garibaldi had entered Naples, he instantly ordered Count Della Minerva to start for Rome, bearing an ultimatum to Cardinal Antonelli. Della Minerva, who had received his passports the year before, and who no longer held a post at the Roman Court, landed at Civita Vecchia on the 9th, but the Pontifical Delegate refused to let him proceed, although Della Minerva protested that he was the bearer of an urgent letter from Cavour to Antonelli. The Delegate

sequestered the letter, and sent it on himself to the Secretary of State.

On the 10th, before receiving Antonelli's answer, Cavour ordered General Fanti to despatch another ultimatum to General Lamoricière.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860—CASTELFIDARDO

ALL moral means being exhausted, war was inevitable. By establishing his headquarters at Spoleto, on the high road between Rome and Ancona, and almost midway between the chief cities of the State, Lamoricière could attempt at the same time to stem the revolution and to defend Ancona.

He had inspected all these lines and issued orders that were not always either clear or coherent. It was evident he was not well informed as to what was going on in a military way beyond the Cattolica or what diplomatic developments were supervening between Cavour and Antonelli. But while his small army, scattered over some three hundred kilometres, might suffice to keep internal order, even though harassed by insurgent bands, it could not resist a trained army, superior in numbers. Lamoricière did not know that since September 10 the Italian army, divided into two corps, was advancing upon his territory. His army lacked scouts, his cavalry

numbered but three hundred horse, and from the day he established his headquarters at Spoleto, he was kept in the dark as to the course of events, both by the Secretary of State and by the Pro-Minister of War. Crippled with gout and troubled by the frequent news of partial surrenders and the deserting volunteers, he applied for instructions from Antonelli and De Merode. Both either allowed him to believe that France would never consent to a Piedmontese invasion or evaded his questions. Neither of these attitudes was calculated to encourage him.

In his report concerning the belligerent factions of September, 1860, he demonstrated in detail the position of the Pontifical army between the end of August, the defeat at Castelfidardo, and the fall of Ancona. From the report, although confused and prolix, we learn that his army was formed of sixteen full battalions, and two half-battalions, including the garrisons of Ancona and Pesaro—a total of about eleven thousand men. He had lacked time to supply his deficiencies in artillery, ammunition, or horses. Of the foreign battalions the best trained was that of the Zouaves or Franco-Belgians. The artillery, drawn by oxen, was antiquated and insufficient.

Thus was historical fate fulfilled. At midday, on September 10, Captain Domenico Farini, *aide-de-camp* to General Fanti, brought a letter for General Lamoricière, that revealed the gravity of the situation, which had not been entirely foreseen. Lamoricière replied to Farini that he would ask for instructions

from Rome, and he wrote in this sense to Antonelli, enclosing a copy of Fanti's letter. The same evening he received a telegram from De Merode, saying: "The French Ambassador is informed that the Emperor Napoleon has written to the King of Piedmont, declaring that if any act of aggression be committed against the Papal States, he would oppose it by force." This telegram in a measure consoled the General. Later he learnt that the words "by force" had been added by De Merode. Other telegrams of the same nature were sent to the provinces. At Spoleto, a faked despatch was published, which stated: "*France will certainly interfere with force. A large French division will be in Rome between the 15th and the 17th of this month to stem the current.*" Two days later this was followed by another, dated the 14th, confirming the news that a division, twenty-five thousand strong, with much artillery, would reach Rome on the 17th. Yet on the 18th the Papal army was routed at Castelfidardo, and Monsignor Pericoli, with an Irish battalion, interned in the fortress of Spoleto, was forced to surrender. Other telegrams of a like character were posted in the towns traversed by the army on its way to Ancona, as, for example, one announcing that the Emperor had sent an Army Corps to Civita Vecchia under the command of De Goyon, in defence of the Holy See. It was also reported, and even copied in some foreign papers, that De Gramont had sent a telegram to Lamoricière, announcing the speedy arrival of a French army of succour. The news was

credited because of that diplomat's injudicious character and his hatred of Italy. Napoleon III., however, denied it in the *Moniteur* of October 15, explaining how, on the contrary, Gramont had been obliged to telegraph to the French Consul at Ancona to communicate to him that the Italian expedition was not favoured by the Imperial government.

Lamoricière could delude himself no longer. His doubts were turned into sad convictions, when Fanti advised him that war was declared from the next day, September 11, and when he learnt the violent orders of the day that Fanti and Cialdini had issued. He learnt also that the latter had attacked the citadel of Pesaro, which had surrendered, that De Sonnaz was marching on Perugia ; that Urbino, invaded by volunteers from Romagna, had proclaimed a Provisional government ; that General Brignone was advancing on Spoleto, and Masi had occupied Orvieto. It seemed to Lamoricière inevitable that he would be surrounded and forced to surrender without striking a blow. He could see no other issue than to concentrate all his forces in Ancona and attempt a last defence there supported by the garrison and artillery. But it was too late ; the movements of the Italian army were so rapid and the stand made by the Pontifical army at Perugia so weak, that on the 14th the town surrendered. Meanwhile General Cialdini, meeting with no obstacles, continued his victorious march across the heights of Fano, by Senigallia, to Jesi, and although his troops were worn out by their

long marches, he occupied Osimo, which became the key of the situation. Cialdini's object was to bar the way to the Pontifical army directed on Ancona. This end gained and the army's advance impeded, the campaign of the Marches might be considered concluded. Ancona, attacked by land and sea, could not resist long. In Fanti and Cialdini, Cavour had found two able men who fully understood and realised his wishes with swift and bold directness. Fanti's value as supreme leader was exceptional.

Lamoricière, seeing that he could not advance, and that the Piedmontese navy was approaching Ancona, had to beat a retreat. He desired to reach the sea as soon as possible, especially as he was anxious to deposit the army funds in a place of safety. Therefore he seized an opportunity of shipping the chest in a sailing boat bound for Ancona. His report betrays his vacillation and carelessness. It had not occurred to him that he would find the bridge over the Musone destroyed, the advance posts of the Piedmontese in sight, and the roads closed.

Arriving at Loreto on the night of the 16th, he comprehended that he must force a passage ; but, as he stated in his report, he awaited the arrival of the brigade under Pimodan before attacking, and regarding this as inevitable, he sent word to the Ancona garrison to *marcher au canon*. In his report he laments the want of provisions and transport, and goes into detailed descriptions of the ground, and conjectures concerning the number of the enemy. On the 17th,

Pimodan's column arrived, and Lamoricière informed him of the situation, that the Piedmontese were masters of Osimo and of the principal roads to Ancona, with headquarters at Castelfidardo. There only remained the road by Umana and Sirolo, a path rather than a road. It was necessary, by feigned manœuvres, to ford the Musone, and to draw the enemy to Crocette, giving battle there, while the main body, crossing the river lower down, would be able to use the road along the shore and hold it as far as Camerano.

On the 17th, the eve of the battle, Pimodan gathered together his staff, and said: "*To-morrow we shall all be in Ancona or in Paradise.*" The Major of the Franco-Belgians thus addressed his soldiers: "*I have always been frank with you. I tell you what many would not dare to say: we shall have a warm morning to-morrow, regulate your passports for eternity, as I have already done.*" A nice way to encourage an army! On the battle morning, Lamoricière and Pimodan Communicated in the Sanctuary of Loreto, and several officers and men followed their example. All were absolved *in articulo mortis* by their respective chaplains.

Towards ten o'clock, when Cialdini began to think the Pontifical troops would not attack, Pimodan surprised the Italian advance posts, fording the Musone with the first battalion of native sharp-shooters and 250 Zouaves. He occupied a farm, and endeavoured to clear a way by Le Crocette and

hold the road to Ancona, protecting it by pieces of artillery. As the Pontifical troops advanced they became targets for the Italian artillery, after which a furious bayonet charge followed. Both sides fought valiantly; the ground was strewn with corpses; the Italian Pontifical troops, the Franco-Belgians, and the battalion of foreign "*Carabinieri*," sustained the attack without flinching, and several of the young French nobles fell, crying with their last breath: "*Viva il Papa! Viva la Francia!*" But during the whole fray Lamoricière's brigade remained stationary, as if paralysed.

When the first rumour reached General Cialdini that the Pontifical troops, fording the Musone, had taken the offensive, he hastily proceeded from Castelfidardo to "Le Crocette," and, following the various phases of the battle, gave precise orders and saw that they were carried out. Contrary to expectation, the Pontificals opposed a stubborn resistance. According to Austrian custom, General Pimodan wore all his decorations, exposed himself in the places of most danger, and in the end was taken prisoner wounded mortally. Carried away from the action he said: "*My friends, I am dying, let me die upon the field of battle, and do you go back to your places to do your duty.*" Cialdini, when he heard of his condition, sent two military surgeons, with orders to take every care of the wounded man, and to do all they could to cheer him. He died shortly after midnight.

Lamoricière had no conception how to profit by the

attack begun at "Le Crocette," or he would at once have made his brigade ford the river. When he gave the order it was too late. The brigade, which had been spectator of the fight, did not stir; a battalion of Swiss, sent to Pimodan's relief, refused to obey; a squadron of dragoons, panic-stricken, recrossed the Musone, and, in spite of their officers' incitements and that of the chaplain-abbot, they disbanded. When the General ordered that the river should be forded, the order was disobeyed, and the advance guard, who were the most reluctant, began a retreat, which shortly became a flight. Suddenly that nondescript army, deciding that the day was lost, refused to listen to the voice of honour or the commands of its chief; and knowing Pimodan to be mortally wounded and a prisoner, and his battalions scattered, the soldiers lost their heads, and without even waiting to inquire into the truth of the report, they only thought how they could reach Ancona. This resulted in a general rout, and only a column of fifteen hundred men, in tolerable order, could be mustered to reach Loreto. Lamoricière could only assemble a thousand men, chiefly infantry, to ford the river and follow him; but, surrounded by the Ninth Infantry regiment, they were taken together with eleven officers and lost two flags. If a little more energy had been displayed Lamoricière himself would have been taken prisoner, but he, fearing this would happen, put spurs to his horse and fled to Ancona. He arrived there at sunset, and on his appearance he was thought to come as victor. But,

tearfully, he said to Captain Rivalta: "*My dear Rivalta, we are done for.*" In fact an army no longer existed.

The battle had lasted from half-past ten till two. The name of Castelfidardo was given to the day of September 18, 1860, by the will of the victor. Just as Waterloo decided the fate of France and Europe, so at Castelfidardo the last vestiges of the Papal temporal power virtually vanished, and all that the revolution had aimed at from that moment became assured. The defence of Ancona was rendered useless by the battle of Castelfidardo, which opened the road to Naples for the regular army, who marched thither to prevent the revolution from committing excesses, and to save the province from the very probable dangers of Bourbon vengeance. Castelfidardo dissipated all the Legitimists' dreams and confounded the designs of Austria, who, most probably, would not have refused to intervene in case Ancona had resisted for some time.

This campaign was carried out with lightning-like rapidity. The Italian army crossed the frontier on the 11th; on the same day Orvieto capitulated; on the 12th Pesaro fell; on the 14th Perugia; on the 18th the Pontifical army was extinguished at Castelfidardo; Viterbo threw off the Papal dominion on the 21st, and Ancona surrendered on the 29th. Thus the Pope, not yet consoled for the loss of the Legations, now remained with only the shadow of a State.

Castelfidardo was one of the most important milestones of that revolution led by a King by Divine right. And if the action was short, it was none the less fortunate. The military rewards may seem disproportionate, but it must be remembered that it was a moment of exaltation in a first national war, for the army that was fighting was no longer Piedmontese, but Italian.

These were days of faith, and that campaign can boast to-day of a whole literature of memoirs and confessions.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CAPITULATION OF ANCONA, ORVIETO, AND VITERBO

IT must be admitted that, though the Pope's army consisted of cosmopolitan mercenaries, not only Pimodan, but many volunteers—young men of noble Legitimist families—knew how to fight and die bravely.

Hopes were still entertained that Ancona could hold out. The garrison consisted of 5,000 men and 120 pieces of artillery, mostly old, opposed to Persano's fleet and the two besieging corps, under Menabrea, counting in all 500 guns. It seemed incredible to the besieged that Austria should stand idly by, watching a furious warfare raging round the Holy See, and they expected that the Austrian fleet might appear at any moment. This hope was also sustained from Rome, by a service of trusty messengers. But the garrison was beginning to suffer from want of food. It has been asserted that no less than 5,000 projectiles fell into the town; but what brought about the final catastrophe was the blowing up of the battery on the Mole, burying under its ruins men and officers.

On September 29 Lamoricière, convinced that he could resist no longer, opened negotiations with Admiral Persano. This seemed a hasty decision, for many maintained that the garrison could hold out another week. In point of fact, the Italian guns from the land side did not reach the city and many of the bombs burst in the air. The same thing was noticed later both at Garigliano and Gaeta. The guns of the fleet were much better handled, and the chief damage to all these fortresses was caused by them.

The terms of capitulation were signed on the same day, at the Villa Favorita, by the Pontifical Commissioners, Mauri and Lepri, and the Italians, De Sonnaz and Bertolé-Viale, Staff Major. The conditions were easy and generous. Lamoricière reached Rome by way of Civita Vecchia. "A considerable number of persons, aware of his arrival," says the *Giornale di Roma* of the 15th, "in spite of the late hour, met him at the station to convey their sympathy and dutiful attachment to the illustrious and heroic general." He came to Rome to render his accounts, to take leave of the Pope and the army which now only existed in name, and also to arrange about the promotions, which he wished to bestow as freely as if he had been victorious.

The impression in Rome created by the defeat at Castelfidardo, followed by the fall of Ancona, was immense. Satisfaction or dismay prevailed among the citizens. The Curia was paralysed. Lamoricière was accused of incapacity and treason. The Pope

was literally beside himself. De Gramont and De Goyon could scarcely conceal their scorn, and the National Committee did all in its power to avert an internal revolt, which could only compromise these happy results. A still greater impression was produced by the repeated rumours that the Italian troops from Terni and Rieti were marching upon Rome, followed by the column under Masi, now master of Orvieto and Viterbo.

But the Pontifical government would not acknowledge its defeat, and, profiting by the anger of Napoleon, of his government, and his representatives in Rome, it requested that the territory comprised in the delegation of Viterbo, at least, should be evacuated, and that both Viterbo and Orvieto should be again occupied, as forming part of the ancient Patrimony of St. Peter. Diplomacy in Rome and Paris, where Gropello remained after Nigra's departure, was very active during these days. The Emperor was anxious to show that he was sincere in his guarantee of the inviolability of St. Peter's Patrimony, and, contrary to his custom, he did not vacillate. Gioacchino Pepoli had been nominated Commissioner Extraordinary of Umbria. No sooner was Perugia occupied than he proceeded to act in the most arbitrary manner, as though he were a Dictator. He gathered around himself in the Palazzo Conestabile a veritable Court, the ostentation of which made a curious impression upon the people of Perugia. Pepoli's equipages drawn by six horses, his royal largesses,

his attempts to imitate the aspect and habits of his great ancestors, Napoleon I. and Murat, and his sumptuous receptions, are still remembered in Perugia. He issued commands like an autocrat; abolished the religious corporations in a district, consisting of not less than ten thousand friars; founded schools and institutes; introduced the Sardinian Civil Code, adding the obligatory precedence of civil marriage; abolished the ecclesiastical tribunal, and temporarily excepted from the suppression of the religious corporations the Benedictines of San Pietro and the Franciscans of Assisi; the former because of their patriotic behaviour during the risings of the previous year, the latter that they might act as custodians of the building. He imagined he could transmute Umbria in three months. As a matter of fact, he reformed with more haste than judgment. When his mission was ended Cavour wrote him a letter, in which he said: "*It would be an exaggeration to state that I approved all your acts. In your difficult position, unless inspired by the Holy Ghost, it would have been impossible to avoid falling into mistakes.*" He evidently referred to the occupation of Viterbo, which Pepoli had advised, and other matters, concerning which, in another letter, he had specially recommended him "*to take no extreme and hasty resolutions.*"

If Pepoli sinned through audacity, authorising Masi to occupy Viterbo, he showed a want of tact in sending by his own authority Duke Lorenzo Sforza Cesarini as Royal Commissioner to that town. The

Duke entered it as though he were a viceroy, followed by a company of Piedmontese Grenadiers and surrounded by mounted Carabineers. Taking up his residence in the Palace of the Delegation, in the name of Victor Emmanuel, he issued government decrees. He visited old Cardinal Pianetti, who, on his part, returned the visit, which sufficed to cause the octogenarian pastor to be recalled to Rome, where Pius IX. covered him with reproaches and removed him from his diocese. Cesarini instituted a Junta of Government, and ordered a species of plebiscite for the annexation of Viterbo to Victor Emmanuel's dominions.

Cavour's representations, communicated by Gropello, failed at first in influencing Napoleon. Cavour had forwarded the petition requesting that Viterbo and Orvieto should not be reoccupied. It also pointed out how Orvieto had never formed part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

On October 2 the government of Turin was informed by the French Minister in Rome that the Pontifical territory, placed under the safeguard of the French Army of Occupation in Rome, distinctly included the Legations of Viterbo and Civita Vecchia to the north, that of Velletri to the south, and to the east the environs of Rome as far as Civita Castellane, and that General De Goyon had been authorised to occupy within this radius, temporarily or permanently, all the places he judged fit. The Sardinian government was therefore requested to

instruct General Fanti to avoid conflicts with the French troops.

Cavour's anxiety, the historical evidences, and the Emperor's insistence failed to save Viterbo; and General De Goyon rejoiced to send two line battalions, with artillery, to reconquer the Delegation, and from thence to push on to Orvieto. Pepoli and Gualterio foresaw the danger of a conflict between Masi's undisciplined column, largely composed of Umbrians, Tuscans, Romagnoli, and the French troops. It was admissible that Viterbo might be held to form part of St. Peter's ancient patrimony, but Orvieto, an Umbrian town, historically and geographically, certainly did not. The incidents of those days, though brief, were of exceptional gravity, and occurred between Rome, Paris, Turin, Perugia, Orvieto, and the other towns through which Victor Emmanuel passed after leaving Turin, September 29, on his journey through Romagna and the Marches, which finished in Naples on November 7.

In the end the Emperor had recourse to one of his favourite compromises, that of saving Orvieto and immolating Viterbo, which had to resign itself to the inevitable. The French Commander curtly informed the Governor that on the 11th the French column would occupy the town, and that he had taken the necessary steps for obtaining quarters for officers, men, and horses. Duke Sforza Cesarini's protest, read out on the Piazza to the French Commander, who had intimated to him to lower the national flag,

was couched in haughty terms. The scene was truly dramatic. The French troops, drawn up in square, presented arms. The people roared "*Viva Vittorio Emmanuele Re d'Italia!*" as the flag was lowered. It was placed upon a triumphal car, richly draped with brocades and tricoloured banners. The car was followed on its progress by the Municipal Commission and an enormous crowd, who preferred exile rather than to reside again under Papal jurisdiction. When the emigrants had left, the city became deserted, and a few hours later the Pontifical Gendarmerie restored the former government.

The first anniversary of the defeat of Castelfidardo was commemorated in the church of San Carlo al Corso with a *requiem* service for the Pontifical soldiers who had fallen in the fight. The inscription above the church door ran: "*All honour and glory to the martyrs of Castelfidardo, victims of treason and force.*" De Merode managed every particular of this service. Instead of a bier he erected a clothes-rack, from which hung suspended old uniforms, trousers, jackets, and caps. Upon the pavement were scattered epaulettes, arms and drums. A bizarre idea. Nor was this all. A general's uniform was necessary; but as no general would lend his own lest it should bring him ill luck, the widow of General Farina was asked if she would allow that of her husband to be used. Hence, amid the relics of Castelfidardo, figured the uniform of the stout, pacific general who died in 1857. By De Merode's advice Pius IX. struck a medal in

commemoration of Castelfidardo to reward the soldiers who had fought there. It consisted of a cross reversed, with the words: "*Victoria, quæ vicit mundum, fides nostra*"; and on the reverse: "*Pro Petri sede, Pio IX., P.M. A. XV.*"

Poets were found to sing the defeat of Castelfidardo and the fall of Ancona.

Nor was there lacking a loyal address to the Pope on the part of the Roman nobility, organised by Marchese Patrizi, but signed by few, which was presented to Pius IX. by Prince Borghese. It was whispered *à propos* of this address, that a Duchess had held her husband by the ears to force him to sign it; that a young Princess threatened to divorce her husband if he signed it; and a certain Marchesa never recovered from the ridicule which fell upon her husband because he signed it.

CHAPTER XXIII

NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGOTIATORS

THREE official missions were sent by the Italian government to Rome between 1860 and 1870, and each came to be known by the name of the men to whom they were entrusted, Vegezzi, Tonello, and San Martino. They were official missions charged with definite instructions, of a religious and political nature. The most important, historically, and also the first, was that entrusted by Cavour to Dr. Diomede Pantaleoni and Father Carlo Passaglia. Notwithstanding that the Papal States were dismembered, Cavour realised the moral and political importance of the Roman question, only he deluded himself concerning the methods of solving it. A man of rapid perception and yet more rapid execution, he did not grasp the difficulties, the vested interests and the veritable hedges of prejudices to be overcome before the Pope would sanction accomplished facts, despoil himself voluntarily of the remaining vestiges of temporal power, and consent to recognise Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy with Rome for his capital. And Cavour desired not only this, but also that the Pope should strengthen, by his

moral and conservative influence, the new political order rising out of the ruins of the old. Moved by this earnest wish, Cavour actually conceived the idea of treating on these lines, immediately after Castelfidardo and Ancona, and after the collapse of the negotiations, when he had sent Baron De Roussy with a letter from himself to Cardinal Antonelli and one from Victor Emmanuel to the Pope. Antonelli, as we now know, refused even to discuss matters with De Roussy. It must be premised that, after April 7, 1859, Cavour, replying to Pantaleoni, who had urged him in case a Congress was called to solve the Italian question peacefully, not to suffer the Roman question to be left outside its scope, took the opportunity of exhorting him and the Roman Liberals "not to push the Pope to extremes, nor to alienate the French." The Congress never met; war broke out, and with it the loss of the Legations, and later, the invasion of the Marches, Umbria, and the patrimony of St. Peter. It was, therefore, in October, 1860, when the anger of the Vatican against Piedmont was at its height, that Cavour charged Pantaleoni to open negotiations upon the following basis: the voluntary renunciation of the temporal power; the proclamation of Rome as the capital of Italy, and the liberty and independence of the Church and the Pontiff. The moment was peculiarly unpropitious, but the impatient Minister recognised the necessity of immediately facing the Roman question, the influence of which affected two hundred million Catholics, and

the solution of which, as he said, would exercise a still vaster influence over the religious and moral world. Without Rome as its capital, he kept saying, almost feverishly during those days, New Italy could not be constructed. He regarded Pantaleoni as the man best fitted to fulfil such a weighty charge. A fluent talker and vigorous disputant, Father Passaglia, a native of Lucca, had helped to found the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and was reputed the best theologian of his day. He had formulated the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and was, therefore, in high favour with Pius IX. Passaglia was also a member of a Theological and Canonical Council, charged to examine the most urgent questions of the day. It was, therefore, most natural that the first negotiations between the Italian government and the Roman Curia should be undertaken by Pantaleoni and Passaglia.

Santucci, one of Antonelli's dependants, undertook to present the memorandum Passaglia had entrusted to him to the Secretary of State. Cavour did not know Rome, hence he never realised the difficulties that stood in the way—not merely of concluding, but even of opening negotiations of this character. Intolerant of delay, like all men of action, he wished to begin by proposing an exchange of prisoners, whereby he should release the Pontifical *gendarmes* who were prisoners of war, and the Pope should liberate the political prisoners detained in the Fortress of Paliano, at least those who were natives of provinces that no longer formed part of the

Pontifical States. He felt convinced that, after Castelfidardo and Ancona, abandoned by the Catholic Powers, and especially by Austria, and with his temporal power reduced to its ancient patrimony, the Pope would be easily induced to open peace negotiations upon the proposed basis. Cavour only saw the surface of the problem, and did not realise how inopportune was the moment. Almost at once he asked of Pantaleoni "whether the Pope was beginning to grasp the necessity of coming to terms that were the most suitable for the Roman Court, and which would assure his independence much more efficaciously than the foreign armies."

When Pantaleoni answered that by such methods there was little chance of succeeding, and proposed another more likely scheme, Cavour seemed to accept and set free the Pontifical *gendarmes* without asking for an equivalent. But while seeming to trust to Pantaleoni and Passaglia absolutely, he profited by the occasion of the visit to Rome of the lawyer Bozino to ask him to obtain information how the land lay, and, without acquainting him with what Pantaleoni and Passaglia were doing, he charged him to feel his way and open negotiations. Cavour also gave letters and instructions to Abbot Molinari, General of the Rosminiani, who visited Rome about this time, and Carlo Matteucci was led to hope that a mission to the Pope would be entrusted to him. The fact is the statesman could not wait; but to employ so many persons, most of whom he knew

but little, and who, excepting Pantaleoni and Passaglia, were little to be trusted for such negotiations where absolute secrecy was a prime necessity, was one reason why the mediations failed. The proposals embodied in Cardinal Santucci's memorandum were first drawn up by Pantaleoni and Passaglia, and then submitted to Cavour, who accepted some and modified others, and then returned it to Pantaleoni. It contained the basis of the present "Law of Guarantees," and was entitled "Conditions for the Adjustment of the Pontiff's Spiritual Independence, and the Exercise of his Spiritual Authority in the Catholic World." The project upon which Aguglia, Isaia, and Cardinal Antonelli were said to be agreed, and which was submitted to Cavour by Bozino, is only partially identical with the Cavour-Pantaleoni-Passaglia scheme. Nevertheless, both contained conditions which Cavour not only would not accept, but would not even discuss. It was proposed, for example, that the Pope should retain sovereign rights over the patrimony of St. Peter, which Victor Emmanuel and his successors should govern civilly, as Vicars of the Pontiff, and, in case of the dismemberment of the kingdom of Italy, the original States of the Church should return to the Pope!

According to information furnished to Cavour by Pantaleoni, six cardinals were in favour of the solution of the Roman question, accepting the scheme of the memorandum. What Cavour heard from

other quarters helped to foster his illusions. In February Pantaleoni wrote: "The Pope is undecided; one day he says 'Yes,' the next 'No.' Antonelli vacillating." The letter concludes: "Gaeta once fallen, Antonelli will yield."

Vanquished by his impatience, and unable to understand these delays and contradictions, Cavour recalled Passaglia to Turin early in February. Then he changed his mind, and telegraphed him to delay his departure. But he was too late, for Passaglia telegraphed that he had already conferred with the Pope and Antonelli and announced his departure, and that he had interesting information to impart concerning the negotiations. Cavour telegraphed again: "If Father Passaglia has not already started, let Pantaleoni urge him to be very reserved and maintain his *incognito*. A room for him is prepared in my house; he can come there direct on arrival."

Passaglia went to Turin, but did not see the Pope before leaving, nor had he seen Antonelli, who always played a double game, probably with the object of saving his face whatever resulted from the negotiations, owing to Pius IX.'s uncertain temper. But before leaving Passaglia conferred with Pantaleoni, who, in his turn, was to communicate with the Secretary of State. Passaglia did not consider it wise to accept Cavour's hospitality, and he, therefore, lodged at an hotel. But he saw Cavour many times and for long periods. He also met Minghetti and Marchese Gustavo di Cavour. It is probable that

Passaglia evoked more hopes than he was entitled to give or could possibly fulfil, as Cavour, on February 11, announced to Pantaleoni that he was in perfect agreement with Passaglia on all points; that they had arranged the articles of the treaty, and that he would send him instructions, which would serve for him and Passaglia, who were chosen as negotiators. Cavour gave a hundred napoleons to Passaglia for expenses incurred for this trip, and Passaglia departed, leaving him assured that something important would be accomplished after the fall of Gaeta.

His absence had been brief. A few days after his return Cavour wrote to Passaglia, February 21: "I trust that before next Easter you will send me an olive-branch, symbol of eternal peace between Church and State, between the Papacy and the Italians"; adding, "If this happens the joy of the Catholic world will be greater than that caused by the Saviour's entry into Jerusalem some nineteen centuries ago." The great statesman was given to such occasional bursts of lyric eloquence in his writings. Passaglia's journey to Turin and his return to Rome did not remain secret, any more than Bozino's intervention in the negotiations remained a secret for Pantaleoni or Passaglia. Pantaleoni, who was very sensitive, felt the matter so deeply that he complained bitterly to Cavour, who replied in a letter dated March 23: "I was very grieved about the Bozino incident," and further, to assure Pantaleoni,

he added, "Bozino is an unscrupulous man. Perhaps, through vanity, he boasted of relations with me which he had never had." The whole subject of these preliminary negotiations is most complicated and hard to clear up or to come at the full truth.

The hopes of Pantaleoni, Passaglia, and Cavour were quickly dashed to the ground. The capitulation of Gaeta, contrary to expectation, caused the negotiations to fall through. The sovereigns of Naples and their partisans found a refuge in Rome. Mad with hatred against Italy, they added new fuel to the flames. Another yet more serious circumstance contributed to render all conciliatory attempts futile. While Cavour was treating in Rome, the delegates of King Victor Emmanuel at Naples and Palermo, imitating the behaviour of the Royal Commissioners in the Marches and Umbria, carried on an ecclesiastical policy absolutely subversive in character. The Prince of Carignano, at Naples, outrivalled even Garibaldi and Pepoli with his decrees. Mancini was Minister of Religion. These decrees marked a veritable politico-ecclesiastical revolution, initiated by the King's cousin, whose Secretary was Costantino Nigra, a personage high in Cavour's favour and formerly Minister in Paris. These two facts made the contrast the more strident between the negotiations carried on in Rome and the acts of the same government in the southern provinces. These Jacobin decrees provoked from Pius IX., in his allocution

of March 18, the most violent attacks, whereby he charged the Italian government with disloyalty and bad faith. On the same day Cardinal Santucci, visiting the Vatican, was upbraided so angrily by the Pope that he became demented, and died five months after. Pantaleoni and Passaglia were threatened with banishment, and even Antonelli dared not speak.

In a long letter to Cavour, dated March 10, Pantaleoni writes: "The negotiations were being resumed . . . all was going well. It is a month to-day since you told me that you were sending instructions and credentials, and, instead, come the news of Mancini's acts in Naples, rendering the Pope furious, and branding your government with a reputation for bad faith with the Curia, as I notified you by telegraph." Pantaleoni's letter is dignified and straightforward, even somewhat haughty. He further wrote: "I am fighting alone against the majority of the aristocracy, against the Curia, against the *camarilla*, who surround the Pope, and who, in point of fact, govern Rome more than even Antonelli at this moment. But I fight because I have a reputation for honesty and loyalty, which has hitherto been spared me, but which, should events continue in the direction they are taking, will soon be lost, and lost for ever."

Eleven days later, during the night of March 21, warned that the police were seeking him, he fled to Turin. He spoke very openly with Cavour, but was

unable to destroy his illusions. Cavour continued to correspond with Passaglia until the day when he, too, was threatened with arrest and obliged to escape. On March 25 Cavour pronounced his memorable discourse.

"The Chamber, having heard the Ministry's declaration stating that the dignity, decorum, and independence of the Pope and the full liberty of the Church is assured, and having, in concert with France, agreed upon the application of the law of non-intervention, and that Rome, acclaimed the capital by public desire, should be joined to Italy, passes on to the order of the day." Now what had been the declaration of the Ministry? It is impossible to read the account of the two memorable sittings of March 25—26 without profound emotion—sittings which closed with this order of the day—more poetic than political, for it exacted conditions too many and too difficult to be converted into deeds. But those were days of faith and poetry. What lofty words and thoughts were heard spoken by the government! and what noble sentiments of patriotism swayed the Chamber, which voted unanimously, amid frenzied cheers and applause, the order of the day!

The Curia's anger was still further inflamed by these discussions—the vote, and Cavour's speeches. Pius IX. fell ill, and so seriously as to cause grave fears for his life. No one thought of continuing the negotiations, but Cavour, strangely enough, did not lose hope, and continued to correspond with Passaglia,

who wrote to him in April, saying: "I hope that the Pope, when he recovers, will listen to more conciliatory counsels, and will show himself less adverse to you and to those who are co-operating in your holy undertaking. I trust no violent measures will be adopted against you; in case, however, you should be threatened with such measures you know that you would be received here with open arms." Hearing that the Pope's illness continued, and foreseeing the possibility of a vacant See, on the 26th Cavour asked Passaglia's opinion regarding the three cardinals, one of whom he (Cavour) would prefer to see elected to the Pontifical throne.

Towards the end of April Cavour lost all hope of accommodating the Roman question by means of an understanding with the Pope. He therefore once more initiated a fresh diplomatic campaign with Paris, suggesting the evacuation of Rome by the French, that Italy should guarantee to the Pope the integrity of his remaining possessions, and pledge itself to create no fresh difficulties after the departure of the protecting army.

Although these conditions were hard, Cavour accepted them, and they were formulated in rough draft. Senator Augusto Lorenzini, who enjoyed Cavour's confidence, was charged in May, 1861, with a delicate, anxious, and dangerous commission—that of visiting Rome, with the object of inducing the two Committees to avoid all demonstrations both on the eve of, and the day succeeding, the departure of the

French. Cavour stated that Napoleon insisted upon a formal assurance to this effect before withdrawing the troops. Lorenzini came to Rome disguised as a herdsman, interviewed the chiefs of the two Committees, and obtained, without much difficulty, the assurances desired by Cavour. When he returned to Turin the Prime Minister was at the point of death, and Lorenzini relates that as soon as he was dead Napoleon telegraphed to Victor Emmanuel that all negotiations with regard to the Roman question must be considered as cancelled, for he had based them exclusively upon his trust in the late Minister.

The frustration of the proposed treaty concerning the Roman question did not dishearten Baron Bettino Ricasoli, Cavour's successor. A religious man of strong will, he determined to proceed along the same road, but by other means. He drew up a scheme consisting of twelve articles, based upon the Cavour-Pantaleoni-Passaglia memorandum, and decided to send it to the Emperor Napoleon, that he might present it to the Pope, since direct dealing with the Pontiff was impossible, as the relations with Rome were most hostile. Brigandage and reaction had converted the kingdom of Naples into a *La Vendée*, and Rome favoured this reactionary movement.

Before submitting his scheme in Paris Ricasoli desired to consult Father Passaglia. Father Passaglia's position in Rome had become difficult, and his friends advised him to quit the city. Playing with fire, he

had issued the famous pamphlet, "*Pro causa Italica ad Episcopos Catholicos, actore præsbitero catholico*," in which the writer, basing his views on those of many Church fathers, maintained that to uphold the temporal power was an almost heretical doctrine; wherefore Pius IX. ought to abandon it in order to give freedom to the Church, independence to the Pontiff, peace to the world, and not to deprive the new kingdom of its apex. This pamphlet created an immense sensation.

While the Congregation of the Index was convoked to condemn this publication, the *Nazione* of Florence published the following communication: "The undersigned, having heard rumours that the Congregation of the Index is convened to pronounce sentence upon an anonymous pamphlet, '*Pro causa Italica*,' he openly declares himself to be the author, and, under the ruling of the 10th paragraph of the Edict Divina et Provida of Benedict XIV., and for other reasons of equity and justice, he demands and insists upon being heard in defence of his case. (Signed) Carlo Passaglia." A courageous act, truly, rendered still more so by the fact that Passaglia had returned to Rome and thus delivered himself into the hands of his enemies. The Congregation condemned the pamphlet without the customary "*laudabiliter se subjecit*," which Passaglia refused to give, and from that moment the storm burst over his head. Pius IX. designated him as impious and a traitor; his name was cancelled from the list of professors of the Sapienza,

and his arrest was reported to be imminent. His friends persuaded him to escape. The National Roman Committee supplied a trustworthy person to help him, and in the early morning of October 16, disguised as a shepherd, he fled from Rome.

CHAPTER XXIV

RICASOLI'S SCHEME—THE PETITION OF FATHER PASSAGLIA

THE scheme Ricasoli sent to Napoleon by Nigra, who, after the recognition of an Italian kingdom by France, had returned as Minister to Paris, consisted of twelve articles, and included Cavour's proposals. It is noteworthy that, while Ricasoli undertook to supply a fixed and inalienable income to the Holy See, he also offered, should the Catholic Powers and peoples desire to assist in supporting the Holy See, to open the necessary negotiations with these Powers to settle their respective quota. The rest of the scheme, later on, formed the basis of the present "Law of Guarantees." Ricasoli, who was religious, and almost a mystic, desired, no less ardently than Cavour, to be at peace with the Church. He was much troubled in those days about the Neapolitan situation, which, owing to the violent reaction and the appalling state of brigandage, had assumed threatening proportions.

In his note to Nigra, of September 10, Ricasoli had reaffirmed Italy's incontestable right to hold Rome

and for the government, "the absolute duty of leading things to this end, in accordance with the unanimous trend of public opinion and to avoid grave disturbances and thoughtless agitations, always deplorable, even if forestalled or suppressed." The note concluded with these noble words: "While Your Excellency will be careful to express to His Majesty's Government how fully we are convinced of its benevolent intentions and of the efficacy of its participation in this affair, you will also convey that, if by misfortune these last endeavours should fail, great difficulties would present themselves, and, in spite of all goodwill to mitigate the consequences which might arise out of a refusal on the part of the Roman Curia, either from religious or political reasons, it would be impossible to prevent Italian public opinion from being deeply stirred. The results of a repulse may be more easily foreseen than measured. What is certain is that Italian religious sentiment would receive a great shock, and that the national impatience, hitherto restrained by the hope of a solution, approximately near, would become extremely difficult to curb."

This veiled menace caused Nigra to feel doubtful as to the success of his mission. He read the Emperor's mind, and knew that after Cavour's death he was not disposed to risk anything further on behalf of the Roman question, which had already caused him not a little annoyance. Napoleon III. had suffered the invasion of the Pontifical States, by which, after the loss of Orvieto, the temporal power no longer

embraced the conventional patrimony of St. Peter, but he would never have consented that the Pope be deprived of his temporal power, either by a revolution or a monarchy. The position was embarrassing for Nigra, and he did not disguise it in conversation with friends: *Baron Ricasoli*, he said, *believed he could settle all difficulties with a Note; after drawing it up he quietly went to sleep, leaving it to others to extricate themselves out of the difficulty*. In fact, although the scheme of conciliation was preceded by a respectful and dignified address to the Pope, and by a note to Cardinal Antonelli, the Emperor, as Nigra had foreseen, under the pretext that the French Ambassador was absent from Rome during that month, declined the commission. There were two reasons for this: the obvious one that Napoleon did not desire, in case of refusal, to play the part of an unsuccessful mediator; the covert, that, in case the proposals were accepted, he did not believe that the times were ripe for the withdrawal of the troops, an act that would crown the independence of the new kingdom he had so lately recognised. The Emperor had no liking for Ricasoli. But Ricasoli did not lose heart. He proudly assumed before the Chamber the full responsibility of his action, substantiating it with the documents; and, on the occasion of a debate on the Roman question, the Left having charged him with couching his terms in too humble and submissive a tone towards the Pope, he answered: "I ask, Should I, Minister of a Catholic King, of a King the head of a Catholic country,

should I have addressed the Pope in the language of an enemy? I think not. I spoke to him in the tone of one speaking in the name of a believing people, and I hold that I neither humiliated myself nor the nation I represent." Ricasoli intended to carry out Cavour's idea of concluding a real agreement as between two Powers—a convention, not a law, which, repudiated by the Holy See, would have only bound one of the signatories. If these were illusions they were, at least, well intentioned, and moved by noble patriotic sentiments and by his profound belief that the Pope would yield to his sentimental exhortations.

No course now seemed open but to follow the advice of Father Passaglia—that is, to initiate a movement among the lower clergy in favour of a national idea and hostile to the temporal power; a manifestation which under an orthodox disguise, would be purely political; a schism, if it may be so termed, but neither dogmatic nor hierarchical. The lower clergy had aided the revolution, especially in the Two Sicilies, and everything pointed to success. The Vatican itself could not have been indifferent to it. It was a political and happy idea, but it needed, on the part of the Italian government, that spirit of continuity in its ecclesiastical policy which was entirely lacking both then or since. This agitation only served, later on, to rivet the chains of the inferior clergy or to oblige some to doff their priestly garb. Passaglia, assisted by the government, founded the *Mediatore*, a polemical and propagandist sheet,

which appeared twice a week, and was the organ of the movement. It had a fair circulation among the clergy.

The Papal party was greatly enraged, and the threats of the clerical papers were violent and incessant, even demanding the excommunication of all subscribers to the *Mediatore*. The danger inherent in this movement was fully understood; it presented the possibility of a religious schism.

The chief support came from the southern inferior clergy, especially from the secular branches.

Various addresses to the Pope—humble, orthodox, and even unctuous in form—were drawn up by these men. The movement lasted for less than two years, after which it languished until, on the fall of Ricasoli, in 1862, the trend of Italian politics changed.

Clerical influences, secret but potent, among some of the Ministers and even in the Court, helped this movement for reconciliation. Rome, in view of a revolt which was neither dogmatic, doctrinal, nor hierarchical, but only political and, in form, quite orthodox, would come to terms, and the condition of the inferior clergy would be much changed. At least this was the large-minded and practical opinion of Ricasoli and Father Passaglia.

But the prospect of a secession, even if only political, alarmed the Roman Curia. In May, 1861, Monsignor Francesco Liverani, Apostolic Protonotary, had published a polemical volume, entitled, "The Papacy, the Empire, and the Kingdom

of Italy," prefaced by an open letter to Count Montalembert. It was a fierce indictment of the Roman Curia, whose decadence he dated from 1600. The violence of the personal accusations detracted from its efficacy; nevertheless it produced a great effect, chiefly on account of the writer's high position and because of his old and close friendship with Pius IX. The scandal was increased by the fact that the Congregation of the Index refused to condemn the book, asserting that it contained nothing against either morals or faith. Shortly after, however, Liverani recanted, disclaimed his book, craved the Papal pardon, and spent his remaining days in obscurity. But for some months the book was all the rage.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SACRED COLLEGE

CURIOUS types and strange temperaments were never lacking in the Sacred College, and several of those who formed a part during the last decades of the Papal *règime* are worthy of notice.

Cardinal Pietro de Silvestri, a noble citizen of Rovigo, in spite of being an Austrian subject up to 1866, sympathised with the New Italy. He was a worthy man, a "*Gran Signore*," who lived at ease in an elegant apartment and frequented the best society; intimate, too, in the workshop of the Castellani, and a welcome guest in the Caetani and the Doria homes, where he always provoked amusement by his habit of saying "*Bene, bene!*" in season or out. "It is a fine day, Eminence." "*Bene, bene!*" "It's dogs' weather, Eminence!" In the same tone of voice came the answer: "*Bene, bene!*" When asking news of a friend, even if answered that he was dying or dead, the cardinal would reply, "*Bene, bene!*" After 1870 he showed no rancour towards the new order. He endowed charities at Rovigo, which bear his name, and bequeathed Petrarch's house at Arqua, which had

been owned by his family for centuries, to the town of Padua. He died in 1875. In his will he indicated the documents which would prove that the Palazzo Venezia in Rome ought not to be considered the property of Austria.

From Venetia also came Cardinal Fabio Asquini di Fagagna, who lacked De Silvestri's aristocratic manners. He sympathised with Austria, and was intransigent, exaggeratedly scrupulous, and of limited understanding. He did not always comprehend the meaning of words, and consequently made some curious lapses. When a petition from a priest asking a favour was transmitted to him, on one occasion, he courteously listened, and then said, "Go in my name, to Cardinal ——, and present this same request"; but instead of ending with "I can do no better for your *protégé*," he said, "I can do no worse for him." He died a canon of S. Maria in Trastevere, having maintained, as long as he lived, a dignified attitude, which is more than can be said of many other ecclesiastics of our times.

Another cardinal who frequented lay society was Ugolini di Macerata. Even when no longer young he never changed his worldly habits; enjoyed entertainments, and never missed diplomatic or princely receptions. He paid a visit daily to the beautiful Countess Natalia Spada di Medici, the subject of much talk, when Count Lavinio Spada, to marry her, threw off his priestly mantle. Ugolini was morbidly inquisitive, a habit of which he was never cured.

When speaking-tubes were introduced into the princely palaces, Ugolini wished to test the instrument. Entering Palazzo Poli, he whistled up the speaking-tube and inquired if the Duchess was at home, because Cardinal Ugolini wished to pay his respects. The footman, who thought the porter had inquired, with the impudence of Roman servants, called down: "Tell that old bore of a cardinal that the Duchess is at home." Without being in the least put out, the cardinal exclaimed, "How clearly it speaks!" Ascending, he told the story to the Duchess and her visitors, provoking their laughter at his well-punished curiosity. He died in 1867, and with him disappeared perhaps the most comic figure in the Sacred College.

But the cardinal who most affected pomp and circumstance was Ludovico Altieri, who at thirty-five had attained the purple. He ranked as one of the most important personages of the Sacred College; was Arch-Chancellor of the University, and, as member of the Red Triumvirate, was cordially hated by the Liberal party. He lived sumptuously in his Palazzo del Gesù, giving magnificent receptions, and seeming, in his person, to revive the type of Renaissance cardinals. Like them, too, he was held not to be entirely immune to the frailties of the flesh. He despised Antonelli and his *protégés* from the Ciociaria, disguising his feelings so little that Antonelli always kept him at a distance. He was suburban bishop of Albano when, in 1867, a terrible cholera epidemic

broke out. He hastened there at once, and without thinking of himself, he carried the Viaticum to the dying, barefooted, and thus caught the disease, dying within a few hours, much lamented.

Pentini, a Roman, must also be numbered among the worldly cardinals. He had known Pellegrino Rossi, and in 1848, before he was cardinal, he had joined the revolutionary movement and formed part of the first Ministry, called the Reform, as Minister of the Interior. Pentini was Caetani's intimate friend, and called by him his "accomplice" in that Ministry. He owned a villa at Frascati, where he spent months with his brother, a noted horseman, and with Odo Russell, his great friend. Pius IX. made Pentini wait long for the purple because of his previous unorthodox politics. It is told, that on taking his cardinal's oath, Pentini refused to guard, "*usque ad effusionem sanguinis*," the 5,000 *scudi* which had been deposited by Sixtus V. in the Castle of S. Angelo, for the extreme needs of the Apostolic See, and which his successors had appropriated. "If they are not there," exclaimed Pentini, "why should I swear to guard them?" He was of independent character, loved society, and enjoyed the sympathy of both nobles and citizens, of which he received a proof on the evening he was created cardinal. The vast rooms of Palazzo Pacca were not large enough to hold the crowd of guests. At the cardinal's request the Duchess of Sermoneta did the honours of the house, assisted by the Duke, dressed in the uniform of a Maltese knight. Pentini

was nicknamed "Cardinal Tremouille," because his hands trembled. He died in 1860, six years after his elevation to the purple.

Among the older cardinals were Barberini and Tosti, the latter the object of fierce attacks when he held the post of Treasurer-General or Minister of Finance during the Pontificate of Gregory XVI. The first of noble birth, the second of humble origin, they were both typical Romans, as regards speech and habits. Barberini was phenomenally ignorant. As Secretary of the Briefs and Chancellor of the Equestrian Orders, he was waited upon by a Japanese delegation, who had come to assist at the canonisation of the Martyrs. He knew no foreign language, and had a secretary even more illiterate than himself. The Japanese spoke in English, the secretary replied in Italian, and neither understood the other. After they had gone, the cardinal inquired of his secretary what language they had spoken. The secretary replied, "In Latin." "And why did you not tell me, I could have answered in the same language," cried the cardinal. He was good-natured but stupid. It was said at his death, that an unpublished book was found among his papers entitled, "The Stupidities of Dante," in which he endeavoured to prove how Dante was a foolish fellow who had written a mass of absurdities in his description of the three worlds. He had also tried to translate the Litanies into Italian, but not finding the word *Kyrie* in the Latin dictionary and being unable

to explain it, he concluded that God did not desire the translation. Such are a few of the ridiculous things told of him. He died at the age of ninety.

Antonio Tosti was accused of having risen from great poverty to equal wealth, of living like a satrap, in a pretentious, arrogant manner, and of having very indifferent morals. He was also accused of peculation and theft. One of Pius IX.'s first acts was to relieve Tosti of his post, appointing in his place Monsignor Giacomo Antonelli. At the time of which this history treats, Tosti was old, almost decrepid, and led a solitary existence. His habits were *bourgeois*, he went out walking, gave good dinners to friends who were not clerical in their sympathies, never went into society, and at night, before retiring, drank a glass or two of Marino wine. But on great occasions he resorted to his old pompous habits, and went out in his famous coach, designed by Camporese, and ornamented with an infinity of arabesques in the worst taste, among which appeared the sun above three hills, his fantastic coat-of-arms; for, not being noble, he had no family coat.

In 1868, Lucien Bonaparte was elevated to the purple, and thus the Roman patricians had once more a representative in the Sacred College. The second son of the Prince di Canino, Lucian, did not seem born for the priesthood. In 1848, at the age of twenty, in military uniform, he had accompanied his father to the camp of Charles Albert. In 1850 he was among the guests at Palazzo Poli; but later he showed signs

of ascetic leanings, and gradually withdrew from the world. Encouraged by his confessor, he decided to enter the priesthood, and, after his mother's death, took Holy orders. Unlike the Bonapartes, he was modest, of an almost womanly temperament, and fond of music. He numbered Liszt among his friends. He rose rapidly in his career, and in 1868, when only forty, received the purple. His cousin Napoleon III. called him to Paris, and suggested to him to remain there; but Lucian preferred to return to Rome and to his favourite Villa Paolina at Porta Pia. He led a quiet life, seeing few friends. Among his occasional visitors were Father Giacinto Loyson and Emile Ollivier, who described the cardinal as a man of talent, who suppressed its evidences through modesty and to avoid arousing the jealousy of the other cardinals, who feared him on account of his close relationship with Napoleon. Napoleon, who had helped to elevate him and believed that he had in him a faithful and useful ally, was cruelly disillusioned, for the cardinal was no diplomat, and lacked political acumen. He was dominated by asceticism, and found relaxation only in music. Prodigal and generous, he ceded his palace in Piazza Venezia and his villa at Porta Pia to his brother Napoleon, and spent large sums in restoring the church of S. Pudenziana, whose title he bore till 1879. The imperial eagle may be seen on its façade. He died impoverished and quite suddenly in 1895. His health had, for some time, been precarious, consequent on his privations and penances.

He confessed every evening at the Capuchin Church, and in his latter years he might be seen huddled up in his carriage, pale, almost waxen, always alone and always muttering prayers. While possessing none of the distinctive mental qualities of the powerful and restless house to which he belonged, he was a striking example of the peculiar Bonaparte type of features. On the morning of September 20 he had proceeded with an escort to the Vatican, thinking to be safer there, remained several days. His empty carriage on its return journey had to halt in Piazza Gesù to allow the passage of the Italian troops. Rich in gilding and decorations, it attracted the attention of the soldiers. It was the last cardinal's coach seen in the streets of Rome. After his death the Roman nobility was represented in the Sacred College, till 1885, by Flavio Chigi, who had lived a worldly life until 1848. A member of the Noble Guard, he had joined the Pope at Gaeta, in order, it was whispered, to follow one of his lady-loves. A great organiser of picnics, a favourite with the ladies, and leader of *cotillons*, he suddenly disappeared from the world. It was said that he had gone to serve his noviciate among the Jesuits. He took priestly orders, and was soon created archbishop and Nuncio, first in Bavaria and then, till the fall of the Empire, in France. He spoke English well, and was a pleasant conversationalist, possessing a fund of easy tolerance, as befitted a former man of the world. He died in Rome in 1885, at the age of seventy-five, in his family palace.

Another worldly cardinal was Grassellini, of a noble Sicilian family. When he was elevated to the purple it was said that the Pope wished to reward him for his severity at Bologna, as Commissioner Extraordinary. Very reserved and silent, he yet frequented receptions and balls. Many disagreeable stories circulated about him, especially concerning the time he spent in Bologna. When travelling he would dress in black and drop all his cardinal's insignas, calling himself simply "Monsignor Grassellini." Unbending in politics, he died, at the age of almost eighty, in 1875, to the surprise of many who believed him already dead. He measured his words more carefully than his money when he travelled, for he always frequented the best hotels, and Paris was his favourite residence.

Side by side with these cardinals, men who loved the world with its good and evil, and who represented a class in respect of habits and customs, not really discreditable, as in the worst days of the Roman Curia, there existed another, that of the "holy" cardinals. Chiefly drawn from the monasteries, afraid of the world, diffident of the laity, jealous of each other, silent, impenetrable, they were incredibly mean, and often hypocritical. Their life was a series of religious scruples and theological doubts, intermixed with conventual jealousies and extraordinary penances. The most typical of this class was the Sicilian Panebianco, a cloistered monk; while Vincenzo Santucci, who was not a friar, represented

the rustic cardinal, timid of men and of the very air they breathed. A native of Gorga, in the Ciociaria, he resided with his two unmarried brothers and two sisters. These five persons lived entirely for each other. The cardinal, in the eyes of his brothers and sisters, was a superior being, whom they imitated even in his prejudices. For example, the cardinal possessed two maps of Rome by which he regulated his walks according to the seasons, and his brothers did the same. The sisters went out rarely, amusing themselves by looking at the pictures possessed by the cardinal, at his silver, which was very handsome, and at the brass candlesticks of various epochs, of which the house contained an interesting collection. They lived in Palazzo Mariscotti. The rooms were divided by screens to prevent draughts. In summer, between one and two o'clock, after having eaten very hot soup, they all retired to their respective rooms to change their underwear, and then returned to finish the meal. The lay Santucci dressed in black, and each, including the cardinal, had made their wills in each other's favour with the condition that the survivor should leave all he possessed, as there was no heir, to the Propaganda. Santucci was an upright philosopher and theologian, and, as Prefect of Instruction, held in profound aversion the Philodramatic Academy of Rome. Some arguments which he could not grasp by suggestion or persuasion he comprehended through logic. He was no Liberal, but Pantaleoni, his doctor, and Father Passaglia, a theologian like himself, had often

demonstrated to him the necessity of saving the Church from the excesses of heresy by means of an agreement between the Pope and Italy, upon a basis of mutual concessions. So logical did the proposal seem to him that he went to the length of submitting Cavour's memorandum to Antonelli. After the fierce invectives hurled at his head by the Pope, he was seized with a violent trembling, removed to Rocca di Papa, and died there in 1861.

But the cardinal who, at that time, enjoyed the greatest celebrity, not only in Rome, but in Europe, was Girolamo d'Andrea, of a noble Neapolitan house, son of Marchese d'Andrea, a former Minister of Finance in the kingdom of Naples. He was a man of ready wit and easy speech, talking, in fact, more than was suitable to one in his position. He had been educated in France, and had then entered the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics. His long Roman residence had somewhat curbed his vivacity and hyperbolic native character. Delegate Extraordinary, after 1848, in Umbria and Sabina, he left a good name behind him. Created cardinal in 1853, when only forty, he subsequently became suburban Bishop of Sabina. Disgusted by the political position adopted by the Holy See, after 1860, he assumed the position of a *frondeur*, criticising Antonelli's mistakes and the mystic ingenuities, as he called them, of Pius IX. He had remained the friend of Pantaleoni and Passaglia. He desired a conciliation, and became a warm partisan of the Ricasoli Concordat. For these reasons and also

because, as Prefect of the Index, he had refused to condemn Monsignor Liverani's book, Cardinal d'Andrea was first suspended and then hated by Pius IX., the Secretary of State and the Vicar Patrizi.

An incident that echoed through the world brought matters to a crisis. The cardinal, either because he no longer felt safe in Rome or because his health was really failing, asked permission of the Pope to go to Naples for change of air. Receiving no passport, he left, quite openly, in June, 1864. Arrived at Naples, he telegraphed to Antonelli, explaining how the journey had been necessary, and making his excuses both to him and to the Pope. A great hubbub arose in the Curia, and the enemies of d'Andrea took advantage of it to excite the further animosity of the already prejudiced Pope, who, after requesting his return to Rome, suspended his appointments as cardinal by a brief, dated February, 1865. This severe measure, new in history, caused the affair to assume the proportions of a scandal. It was said that it had been caused less by the cardinal's disobedience than by his visit to Prince Humbert at Naples. D'Andrea protested by a letter to the Dean of the Sacred College, published in the papers, a circumstance which incensed the Pope still more. He ordered that the congregations should no longer recognise him as Bishop of Sabina and should correspond on all diocesan business with the Vicars-General. D'Andrea again protested in a still more vigorous letter, addressed to the Pope himself, and this added fuel to the fire. This not being sufficient,

he took to writing in all directions against the overbearing acts of which he was the victim.

The Pope, by a brief of June 12, suspended him for an indefinite period from the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction *in spiritualibus et temporalibus*. This brief, published in the two dioceses, produced disastrous results. Not one penny of his revenues was granted to him! Thus denuded of means, he, a cardinal and one of the highest, was defenceless and ruined. However, his popularity in the Liberal world, through the strenuous and warm partisanship of Father Passaglia, increased, and, in proportion, his imprudences increased also. In one of his letters he thanked and praised Passaglia; in another he called Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy." He dreamed of solving the Roman question by means of the projects of Cavour and Ricasoli. He attended the ball given by the prefect of Naples.

Suspended from his functions as bishop and his duties as cardinal, diocesan, and abbot, furiously assailed by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and the less important papers of the Curia, designated as an apostate and traitor and under threat of being deprived of his cardinal's hat, d'Andrea's reason began to give way. Yeilding to the persuasions of friends, and seeing no other way of cutting the knot, he returned to Rome in 1867. He indited a defence, which he sent to the Pope, in which he declared himself ready to sign any form of retraction desired. It was drawn up by his implacable enemies—Antonelli and his satellites.

In January, 1868, Pius IX. accepted the retractation, and reinstated the cardinal in his offices and revenues by an apostolic letter. Summoned to an audience of the Pope, d'Andrea found him seated upon a throne, with Cardinal Patrizi on his right and Cardinal Antonelli on his left. A prey to profound emotion, d'Andrea entered the room tottering and pale as death. Before the steps of the throne he fell upon his knees, as if struck by lightning, weeping like a child. Pulling himself together, without hearing one word of comfort from the Pope, he pleaded for pardon, kissed the Papal foot, and retired completely overcome. Deluding himself, he recounted that he had been fairly well received. Four months later he died of pulmonary suffocation. The *Osservatore Romano* announced his death without a word of regret.

Persons still living recall the theological and political polemics to which d'Andrea's case gave rise, occupying canonical and lay lawyers in endless disputes.

Some—indeed, most cardinals, both Italian and foreign, provided they could trace any noble origin, or were, at least, of good birth—had been brought up at the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, whose headquarters were in Piazza Minerva. It exists to this day, but its façade, like the Piazza, has been completely altered since the isolation of the Pantheon and since the large Convent of the Minerva has been converted into the Office of the Ministry of Public Instruction.

To enter the Academy, foreigners had to produce very exact guarantees of noble birth ; less stress was laid upon the nobility of the Italians. The Academy then, more than now, was the nursery of prelates destined to govern the Church *in temporalibus*, either in nunciates or in the Sacred College. The Ecclesiastical Academy had been forced, for want of funds, to close its doors in the seventeenth century. Pius VI. reopened them, endowing it with a new patrimony. The education of these young and wealthy nobles, who had to be eighteen before they could be admitted and not be older than thirty-five, was more worldly than clerical, indeed was almost lay. Their rooms were furnished with elegance, they were waited on by lay servants, they dressed with care, and at the time when the Pantheon was surrounded by poor houses and shops it was not rare that seductive young women established a code of signals with the pupils by which they arranged to meet during the hours of exit.

The Academy had its own characteristic coat-of-arms, that of a ship sailing on an agitated sea, the wind blown by a cherub bearing the motto : "*Ut non circumferamur omni vento doctrinæ.*"

Theology, ecclesiastical history, canonical and civil law, and languages were included in the studies. Under the Pontificate of Leo XIII. chairs of Ecclesiastical Diplomacy, of Political Economy, of International Law and Diplomatic Affairs were instituted.

The high ambition of the noble students was to be the bearers of the beretta to the foreign cardinals, or to be appointed delegates or prefects in the States of the Church. Young, full of juvenile vigour, with almost unlimited powers, rich and worldly, they were not insensible to human temptations, and not seldom some of their number were expelled or punished. Some of the last students before 1870 were, among the foreigners, Hohenlohe, Ledochowski, and Howard, and Enrico di Campello among the Italians. Edward Howard, a strikingly handsome officer in the English Guards, was elegant and wealthy. He left the world to become a priest, and entered the Academy. He left it a prelate, was created cardinal, Subvicarian Bishop of Frascati, and Arch-priest of St. Peter's. He ended his days in an insane asylum, and died at Brighton, in 1892, at the age of sixty-three. Campello retired to Arrone, and, becoming a Protestant, after 1870, he caused a tremendous scandal. With money collected in England, he began to build a schismatic church, but it was never finished. At the point of death he once more became a Catholic, and died craving forgiveness and full of repentance. The Academy, since the fall of the temporal power, has lost the *raison d'être* of its existence, and might well be converted into an institution for higher ecclesiastical culture. Of the cardinals now living, Oreglia entered in 1854, Samminiatelli in 1864, Rampolla in 1868, and the present Secretary of State, Merry du Val, in 1885.

The students are at present few in number, although the instruction is better and more modern. The criterion by which cardinals are created has changed, and any class may now attain to the purple. The ablest student who issued from the Academy in our day was Leo XIII.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FAUSTI CASE

ARRESTS, banishments, and political lawsuits continued to be the order of the day in Rome.

The National Committee let no opportunity escape them to keep alive the sentiment of Liberalism and Italian unity. The second anniversary of the granting of the Constitution in Piedmont was celebrated with much display of tricoloured flags and widely distributed patriotic manifestos. The same Committee, in honour of the marriage of Princess Maria Pia with King Louis of Portugal, presented the Portuguese Minister with three enormous bouquets of flowers, one in the name of the people of Rome, another in the name of the students, and a third in their own name.

A gift raised by public subscription, consisting of a *cista nuptialis* surmounted by a wolf, was sent to the new Queen, inscribed, "The Romans to Maria Pia di Savoia, on her wedding-day." It was a piece of Castellani's work.

In August, 1863, at the hour of the fashionable

promenade, hundreds of tricoloured leaflets were thrown into the fountain of Piazza Navona, bearing the words, "*Viva Vittorio Emmanuele Re d'Italia*," which were fished out amid great excitement. A large transparency with the inscription, "Long live the Powers friendly to Italy," was seen beside the Tiber bank on the evening that Russia and Prussia recognised the new kingdom of Italy. Another transparency having the words, "The freehold of Victor Emmanuel, King of Savoy," was placed in front of the Palazzo Venezia, and tricoloured banners were raised on the Isola di S. Bartolomeo and the Monte Testaccio. Not content with this, the Committee perpetuated a much-appreciated joke. Enveloping some dogs in tricoloured cloth and placing a goad under their tails, they let them loose upon the streets. The laughter aroused was universal, and increased as the people watched the futile efforts of the police to catch the maddened animals.

Counter demonstrations were made by the zealots. In September, 1863, occurred, with extraordinary solemnity, the translation and exposition of the Sacred Image of the Saviour from S. Maria Maggiore to the Lateran. This imposing demonstration was less a homage to the Redeemer than a protest against the publication of Renan's "Vie de Jesus," and also served as a thanksgiving service to the Almighty for having preserved Rome from the "clutches of the Revolution." Pius IX. twice visited the Sacred

Image, proceeding to the Lateran by way of a circuitous route to avoid the crowd. Other religious ceremonies took place in the streets and churches. Of all the societies which undertook their organisation, that of the "*Prima Primaria*," directed by the Jesuits, was the most active. At each demonstration a Jesuit preached sermons that were political rather than religious. The congregation was also exhorted to attend Mass "to comfort the Vicar of Christ in the incessant griefs which afflicted him." Indeed, there was no end to these politico-religious demonstrations. Those in honour of the Pope were usually directed by Egidio Datti, nicknamed "The Sixth Painful Mystery," because it was said that the sixth torment of Jesus was that He had been painted by Datti. When the Pope went out cheers were raised by his *entourage* of "*Viva il nostro Santo Padre! Viva Pio IX.! Viva il Papa Re!*" Some gentlemen, abstaining from taking part in these demonstrations and the follies of Carnival, the notorious Gennaraccio, a creature of the police, published the following manifesto, more blundering than insolent, which he appended to the doors of their palaces :

"The shameful spectacle exhibited by our Roman nobles during the last days should make you ashamed, gentlemen, of the fear which you have shown of the effrontery of the Revolutionists. This, however, need not cause you to abstain from going to the Corso to recover the honour lost on Saturday, Monday,

and Tuesday, and Rome will recognise you as its ornament.

"The Tavern of the Tavolato.

"Long live the Pope-King.

"The Trastevere Club of the People."

Requisitions and arrests continued. They were indeed years of terror. Monsignora De Merode, the keeper of the Pope's mind, centred all power in himself, using and abusing it arbitrarily. But the climax of iniquity was reached in the case against Ludovico Fausti, a Spoletan Apostolic Commissioner, an intimate friend of Cardinal Antonelli and one of his gentlemen, a man entirely devoted to Church and family, with no bias towards Liberalism. The suit was provoked and favoured by De Merode with the audacious aim of striking thus at the Secretary of State, revealing him to be a traitor to the Pope and the Apostolic See.

Until 1860 two factions had divided the Pontifical government: one, impulsive, almost convulsive, seeing everywhere conspiracies, treason, and traitors, invoking fire and sword; the other, calm with the Roman calm, almost apathetic, working in the dark, and utilising all the traditional and refined cunning of the hierarchy to prevent their supersession by the other party. The first regarded Monsignor De Merode and the Ultramontanes as their leaders, the others looked to Cardinal Antonelli. De Merode, Pro-Minister of War, impulsive and active, dreaming of a speedy

restoration, was convinced that it was necessary to clear out from the Court and the government the greater part of the native elements, represented by Antonelli, whom he thought capable of turning traitor for money. Antonelli, on his part, looked upon De Merode as a turbulent individual, an infatuated fool, vain and evil-minded, and determined to effect his rival's downfall, profiting by the Pope's easy-going character and in league with those of Antonelli's party who, for different reasons, were inimical to him [*sic*], and determined to carve out a career for themselves.

De Merode cajoled Pius IX., fanning his suspicions and encouraging his political hopes with the vision of a victory to retrieve Castelfidardo, on the outbreak of the now coming war between Italy and Austria. It was De Merode's desire to show to the world that the Liberal movement in Rome was not inspired by a wish for change, but for the sake of obtaining the gold which the Italian Government, according to him, filtered unceasingly through all grades of society. He, therefore, set to work to seek proofs, both against the Pontifical functionaries headed by the Secretary of State and against the government of Turin. The lawsuit was to furnish crushing revelations, destined to produce a startling effect in Europe.

The perquisitions of the police in the house of Venanzi gave him his opportunity. Some subscription lists, referring to the Roman movement for a monument to Cavour, and five envelopes, addressed to

Ludovico Fausti, were seized. This sufficed to initiate a suit, called after the two men who did not even know each other. The envelopes belonged to a friend of Venanzi, who, residing at Anagni, sent his letters by hand, and addressed them to Fausti as a well-known person in clerical circles, hoping thus to secure them from police investigation. The same ruse was very generally adopted by the conspirators in the sending of pamphlets, employing names absolutely above suspicion.

The silly denunciations of a certain woman called Diotallevi did the rest. This malicious female, who was serving a term of imprisonment under the accusation of having issued photographs offensive to the ex-Queen of Naples, and who feared a conviction, stated that she was ready to reveal important political secrets of which she was the depositary. Pronounced exempt, she left prison and put herself at the service of the police. There was nothing too improbable or absurd for her to state, from the most incredible conjectures to the most perfidious suspicions, from the ridiculous to the infamous. In this wise, Diotallevi denounced half Rome, Princes, cardinals, prelates, and public functionaries. She depicted the city as one vast web of conspiracies, divided into fourteen districts for purposes of insurrection, with leaders in league with the "Piedmontese party," and accused Fausti as the ringleader of his section. To strike at Fausti was to strike at the Secretary of State. No social class was excluded from her denunciations

She divided the Papal *employés* into "stipendiaries" and "assured": the first already receiving stipends from the Italian Government, the second receiving the assurance that the post they now occupied would be continued to them later on. She denounced Marchese Pio Capranica, President of the Trevi region, as the person who informed the Piedmontese of the movements of the Neapolitan Court, which he frequented. The Minister of War was specially aimed at, and, above all, ecclesiastics, belonging to the "Piedmontese party," besides many of the Noble Guard and members of the aristocracy. Nor were even the members of the Sacred College and prelacy spared.

Arrests followed arrests. Though the legal proceedings were secret something leaked out. In the Sacristies, in the Ministries and the Congregations, the friends and partisans of De Merode, under the guise of zealots, with priestly maliciousness, began the work of undermining Antonelli's position, declaring that proofs had been found of his complicity with the "Piedmontese government," enumerating the millions he had received beside those promised; citing the names of those suspected as accomplices and intermediaries, and concluding, with ill-concealed joy, by announcing that a *redde rationem* was preparing for the Secretary of State. Others shrugged their shoulders or winked and made grimaces. The history of the Roman Pontificate records few worse examples of sacerdotal hatred and infernal intrigues

MGR. DE MERODE.
War Minister of Pio Nono in 1860.

than these, which animated the leading men and their factions from 1861—64. De Merode flaunted his disinterestedness, and his partisans worked on this note, saying he sought nothing for himself, neither honours nor reward; how he was honest, rich, generous, and free from hypocrisy, that cancer of the Roman Curia at all times. He only desired to purge the Court and State of traffickers, hypocrites, and traitors, instigating an *instauratio ad imis fundamentis*. He was intimately acquainted with all the secrets of the Papal government, for he had been *Cameriere segreto* to Pius IX.; but no one feared him, with his ugly face and his hard, imperious manner. He was an exception in that elegant, easy and aristocratic Court. Tall and thin, with squinting eyes, impenetrable and haughty, hard towards his inferiors, and regarding all with an air of disdain and scorn, he was no welcome companion to colleagues like Hohenlohe, Howard, Pacca, and Borromeo, perfect gentlemen and of refined manners.

Ludovico Fausti was arrested on Sunday, February 22, as he issued from the church of San Carlo al Corso. As he halted to speak with a lady he was hustled into a cab and driven to the New Prisons. Permission to arrest him had been obtained from the Pope in December, Pius IX. having been assured that there were serious charges against him. The arrest had been delayed owing to the need for further proofs. But at last all conscientious scruples were abandoned. It was not possible to recede without

danger. The suit against Fausti was involved with other proceedings; the Pope himself was compromised by certain rescripts in favour of Diotallevi. Nothing, therefore, could be done but to press forward.

Antonelli was in the most difficult, and in a certain sense the most dramatic position. He fully understood that through Fausti his enemies sought to strike at him. At first he pretended to see nothing, and did all in his power to maintain that attitude. He affected an incredulous and indifferent attitude; perhaps he really was not fully aware of all the machinations of his enemies. But when he realised the truth he changed his tactics and became insistent, both with the Pope and all others, that the matter must be sifted to the bottom, as he was persuaded of Fausti's innocence, and, also, he was convinced (and here he deceived himself) that Fausti's case could not proceed without his consent, since he, after the Pope, was the highest authority in the State.

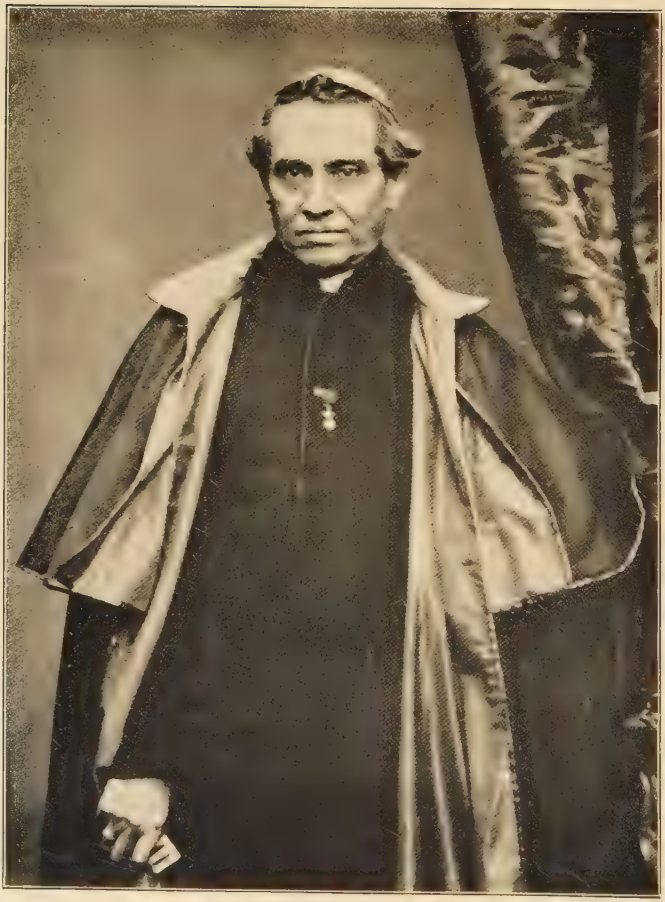
Monsignor Sagretti was an obstinate man with a past he desired should be forgotten. He had been Apostolic Delegate in Ascoli, and was deprived of his position because he had appropriated a reward placed upon the head of a brigand already dead. He had never taken orders. From a subordinate clerk he had raised himself, by fawning and intrigues, and had become rich. Adopting a priest's garb, he had entered the prelacy. De Merode turned him into his

satellite by promising him the Roman Governorship. When the Pope told Sagretti that more proofs were required he restrained himself no longer. Many sheets of Diotallevi revelations were filled up in haste and signed by the impudent liar, who, to expedite matters, even signed blank sheets to be filled up afterwards.

An imaginary treasonable correspondence was thus invented for Fausti, letters which, it was said, the post had confiscated; letters in cipher, whose explanations by the police recalled classical incidents of the Roman Republic and Brutus's invocation, also letters in disguised handwritings. All this diabolical machination represented Ludovico Fausti as the head of a conspiracy in Rome, and the chief instigator of the burning of the Alibert Theatre, destroyed a few days previous to his arrest. His ruin, and that of Antonelli through him, were plotted mercilessly. Diotallevi affirmed that Fausti had been seen in a *café* paying one hundred *scudi* to four incendiaries. He was also accused of having scattered euphorbia and other powders in the Argentina and Tordinone in order to make the audience sneeze and oblige them to leave the theatre. These powders, as a matter of fact, had been sprinkled by the Maggiorami brothers.

Fausti's defence was undertaken by Dionisi, an able lawyer, and known as a warm supporter of the Pontifical government. Though chosen by Fausti, it was impossible to deny him a hearing. Venanzi and the

rest were not allowed to choose their advocates. Their case was consigned to Mori, a venal lawyer, noted as one whom the *Consultà* confided to clients they desired to be condemned. He was nicknamed "*Aiutante del boia*" (hangman's assistant). The judges were six in number, including the president. Monsignor Gaetano de Ruggiero, a Neapolitan, a fanatical partisan of the Bourbons, a zealous clerical, drew up the indictment. He was a man utterly unscrupulous as to the means employed for getting the better of an enemy. It was said that Pius IX. had assured Dionisi that the tribunal would judge, keeping God before their eyes; whereupon one of the judges observed that that was impossible, for in the tribunal the crucifix hung behind the judge's back. Fausti's friends had specially recommended him to one of the judges, who replied that no one knew better than he that Fausti was incapable of committing the acts of which he was accused; "but," he added, "what can be done? Last year we condemned So-and-so to five years whose case only consisted of a *dossier* so high," and he extended his hand, stretching out the first and second fingers. "Now, just imagine, we have a *dossier* so big," and he stretched out both hands, raising the right above the left. The sentence, preceded by a full narration of the supposed circumstances, all based on lies and subterfuges, without any direct proofs and mixed with a mass of absurdities, provoked a verdict for Fausti of twenty years at the galleys.



CARDINAL ANTONELLI.
Secretary of State to Pius IX.

Fausti's defence was powerful, logical, and courageous. The National Committee printed it at its own expense and spread it all over Italy.

Antonelli, who never imagined that Fausti would be arrested without his consent, was deeply incensed, and when he heard of this his rage broke out, and he cried, with reference to De Merode, "The fool shall pay me for this!" The cardinal alternated between the hope that he would not be condemned and the fear that he would. De Merode had previously visited him, and hypocritically informed him that he had had nothing to do with the lawsuit. However, Antonelli did not believe him. He dared not see the Pope for fear of rousing his suspicions, knowing his impetuous and uncertain temper. He sent in his resignation, but the Pope declined to accept it. There was, therefore, a complexity of circumstances which pointed to an unfavourable verdict; but that it would be twenty years at the galleys had never occurred to anyone.

But the sentence was, perhaps, Fausti's salvation. It roused such a storm of popular indignation that the Pope, De Merode, and the judges themselves were almost dismayed—a storm not only in his favour, but of profound pity for Fausti, whose sons, relations, parents, and numberless friends did not hide their opinion that the sentence was iniquitous. The worst features of the case became public. Antonelli remained at his post, posing as a victim, and exhorting Fausti's sons to have patience. A few cardinals urged

Pius IX. to give immediate proofs of clemency and release Fausti. The Pope, pressed by two opposite currents, knew not which side to espouse. He desired only to avoid all responsibility, saying that as sentence had been passed by the High Penal Court, after long discussion and a unanimity of votes, he could not interfere so soon in favour of the condemned. Had Antonelli taken a decided stand for Fausti, it is probable that Pius IX. might have been persuaded to show mercy, but the Secretary of State would do nothing that might seem compromising, and was thus involuntarily the cause of his friend's ruin. If the prosecutors and judges gave proof of unspeakable perfidy, Antonelli revealed an egoism quite clerical, and Pius IX. exhibited his frivolous temperament, suspicious of all and unsolicitous of justice.

The only persons who showed dignity were the condemned. To exemplify the perfidy and also the frivolity of the judges, one anecdote suffices. After Fausti's condemnation the prelates of the *Consultà* went in solemn state to present their respects to the Secretary of State. Antonelli kept them waiting long in his ante-chamber. He then received them coldly, exchanging a few words only, and never invited them to be seated. Interpreting this behaviour as ill-will towards the judges who had condemned his *major-domo*, Monsignor Macioti, a good-natured poltroon, who, however, possessed a dose of Roman good sense, observed, pointing to the cardinal, "*If he had made himself understood, we could have steered a different course.*"

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CONVENTION OF SEPTEMBER 15

IT was June, 1864, before the negotiations, interrupted by the death of Cavour, were resumed with the view of ending the French occupation of Rome and of placing the Pope under the territorial guarantee of the Italian government. Napoleon III. desired that this occupation, a fruitful source of trouble and danger, should cease. At the same time, being himself a *plebiscite* Prince, who had ascended a throne and was retained there by the influence of Conservatives and Catholics, he wished to demonstrate that, though he withdrew the troops, he did not abandon the Pope to the mercy of his enemies. He considered these to be both the Revolution and the monarchy—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel. A partisan, as he had shown himself, of liberty and nationality, he did not deny to the Romans the right to choose a government even by means of an insurrection; but he held that this should have been accomplished on their own initiative. Knowing them well, he maintained that they would never have attempted it without the assistance, even

though indirect, of the Italian government or of the Revolution.

Napoleon III. had no faith in Ricasoli, wherefore he had declined to conclude the negotiations for the evacuation of Rome. He let it be clearly understood that he had only entered upon it because of the confidence he reposed in the late Prime Minister. Ricasoli had sent Count Arese to Paris immediately after Cavour's death. To him the Emperor stated that he considered it would be dishonest on his part to abandon the Pope, and that the recall of the troops would provoke an agitation which might seriously compromise the peace of France and imperil the imperial dynasty. He added: "Find me some honourable way out, and I empower you to act upon your own responsibility." He exaggerated the difficulties in order to adjourn the withdrawal of the troops until another Pontiff should occupy St. Peter's throne.

After the storms which burst over Italy in 1862, and ended at Aspramonte, it was held in Paris that matters had taken a turn for the better during the first half of 1863. Count Arese did much to foster this opinion by lauding the Minghetti Ministry, and still more Constantino Nigra, who returned to Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary after the recognition by France of the kingdom of Italy, where he enjoyed the Emperor's fullest confidence. The Minghetti Ministry decided to reopen the negotiations, interrupted by Cavour's death, for the Roman question had also

become a question of home politics. With the Court of Naples in Rome, it was impossible to suppress brigandage and the germs of reaction.

It came about that Marchese Giocchino Pepoli, Italian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, offered himself to Minghetti as intermediary with Napoleon. Nothing was said about transferring the capital. It was only proposed to realise the project devised between Napoleon III. and Cavour.

Was this condition Pepoli's own idea or was it Napoleon's? Upon this point history is not agreed. The Emperor had already spoken with Nigra about transferring the capital, but Napoleon was indifferent as to which town should be chosen. It sufficed for him that it be removed from Turin to show that Rome was not insisted on. But, in the first interview between Napoleon and Pepoli, the one unalterable condition for the evacuation of the troops was that the capital be removed. It seemed to the Emperor that this was the surest pledge he could furnish to the Pope and the Catholics. Nigra afterwards related that Napoleon said more than once: "*I wish for nothing better than to evacuate, but I cannot allow either the King or Garibaldi to enter Rome; give me securities that this will not occur and I withdraw the troops.*"

Victor Emmanuel sent Menabrea to Paris to induce Napoleon to withdraw the condition that Turin should no longer be the seat of government; but Menabrea found the Emperor immovable, and, in fact, inclined to do nothing further.

On September 15, 1864, the Convention, including the clause for the transfer of the capital, was signed in Paris. The Ministry had not foreseen all the consequences of this act, concerning which, before its signature, nothing had leaked out. While fully persuaded of the patriotism of Piedmont, the Ministers vacillated. Even Minghetti, who seemed the most decided, could not disguise a certain anxiety as to the immediate effect of the transference of the capital.

The Ministers desired to hear the opinion of some of the leading politicians, such as D'Azeglio, Lamarmora, Ricasoli, Cialdini, Bixio, and Ratazzi. D'Azeglio, who knew Rome well, held that even if the transfer of the capital to Florence implied a renunciation of the Eternal City, it was no evil. Ricasoli was not particularly enthusiastic, foreseeing ruinous consequences to Florence. Cialdini, Bixio, and Ratazzi were all highly in favour of it. But it had not yet been necessarily decided that the site of government must be Florence. The majority of the Ministry had decided in favour of Naples; the three military Ministers inclined for Florence, an opinion shared by Victor Emmanuel, who maintained it would be easier to strike their tents thence and advance on Rome than it would be from Naples. The King knew that Pepoli and Nigra were treating with the Emperor for the evacuation of Rome by the French, but he was ignorant of the clause inserted by the Emperor and which the Ministry had accepted. When Minghetti informed him of this, the King was enraged. Striking

the table violently with his fist: "*And what does Turin mean to you all?*" he exclaimed, as he paced up and down the room in agitation, with tears in his eyes. "*It is my heart which is broken. I, who have always lived here, who have here all my youthful recollections, all my habits and affections!*" The interview convinced the Minister that, had Victor Emmanuel known of the clause, nothing could have been accomplished, and this was why it was kept from the King. However, the Convention, considered as a whole, was a step nearer Rome. The Holy See was not drawn into these negotiations. It knew that the Italian government left no stone unturned to come to Rome, hence it took up the attitude of protesting in every way and at every opportunity.

It was not until matters were almost concluded that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, by order of the Emperor, indited a long despatch, in which he endeavoured to persuade the Holy See of the impossibility of protracting the military occupation and of the necessity of ending it as soon as possible, guaranteeing, however, that the Papal State should remain as it was, whereby it would assume "the normal situation of an independent government." To this communication the Secretary of State is said to have replied that France was at liberty to do as she pleased, since the Pope could defend himself. This sounds probable, in view of the occasionally impetuous character of Cardinal Antonelli and the fact that the occupation was costly to the Exchequer and humiliating to the government.

If it was only human that the end of the French occupation did not greatly distress the Pontifical government, it is also certain that this event, together with the transfer of the capital to Florence, became a new source of danger. The capital was transferred to a region populated by turbulent emigrants, late citizens of the Papal States. It was, therefore, necessary to increase the army and to keep closer watch over the discontented elements. In spite of exile and arrests the public order of Rome left much to be desired. The government knew that the emigrants were prepared to invade the Papal territory from Naples in case of the probable death of the Pope; that the Committees, on behalf of the Italian police, perpetrated thefts of documents from suspected individuals in Rome, and that they were planning other acts. It must be added that neither the Pope nor his Ministers placed faith in the loyalty of the Italian government, nor were they disposed to come to terms with it. The Secretary of State had said: "As to treating with the spoilers, that we will never do. I can only repeat, any transaction of this nature is impossible; the Holy Father will make no concessions; a Conclave could not make any, a new Pontiff could not do so, his successors, for century after century, would not be free to make them." This blind obstinacy, which resembled madness, held out no hopes for conciliation; still Napoleon III., with his mystic idealism, believed that a Convention would settle the Roman question. He regarded the removal

of the capital to Florence as a definite renunciation of Rome and, therefore, the best guarantee he could offer to the Pope and France. In fact, the Italian government undertook not to attack the territory of the Holy Father and "to prevent, even by force if necessary, all attempts made from the interior against the said territory." Napoleon III. could not foresee the two circumstances which might imperil the execution of this pact: the Pope's refusal to accept it, and a Parliamentary crisis which would bring in a Ministry of different views. The general conditions of European politics in 1864 pointed to the conclusion that the Napoleonic Empire was at the apex of its glory, and no one could have imagined how that condition, in two short years, would be changed. Who could have foreseen the war of 1866, Sadowa and Mexico?

Yet another proof of the Pope's intransigence with regard to Italy and the modern world is seen in the proclamation of the Syllabus. Excommunications and encyclicals not being sufficient, nor apostolic letters and letters to sovereigns, it was desired, so to speak, solemnly to codify these documents under ten headings, formulated in eighty propositions. These were directed against the various aspects held to be the special characteristics of the age, such as the tendency to destroy old institutions based on supernatural origin; against naturalism and rationalism, absolute and moderate, all the many forms of Pantheism, whence sprang Socialism and Communism, revolutionary principles and secret societies, atheistical

scientific teaching, based only on pure, and not always correct reason; against the violation of the rights of the Church in respect to Christian marriage, the holding of temporal property, the civil principality of the Pope and the religious orders. All this was included in the Syllabus, proclaimed in St. Peter's ten years after the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception and six years before that of Papal Infallibility. It was almost a return to pure mediævalism, with exceptions or attenuations. The effect upon the civilised world was disastrous. Sincerely religious souls were disturbed by this new challenge to modern thought.

It was now more necessary than ever to strengthen the army, and De Merode was considered incapable of continuing in his post as Minister of War, being disliked by the Imperial government. He was succeeded by a Romanised German, Ermanno Kanzler. His first efforts were directed to the army, now called on to defend the Pope against a probable insurrection and possible revolutions beyond the frontier, upon the withdrawal of the French troops. Cardinal Antonelli had stated that, once the French were withdrawn, the Holy See could provide for its own defence, but, as a matter of fact, this was only brag. The army, however, was remodelled. The superior officers were honourable men, but the army still suffered from its original composition. Some of the men had come out from their native armies and were good soldiers, such as the Bavarians and Austrians; others, new to the service, had to be taught. Few were enthusiastic

for the cause they were defending. They had been gathered together pell-mell, were strangers in the land, strangers to their own officers, and strangers among themselves. Thefts were not infrequent, especially in the Corps of the Gendarmes.

The new Minister and the regimental chiefs made great efforts to maintain discipline. Kanzler showed much tact. The natives despised the foreigners, and the latter, with still greater ostentation, despised the natives. It was not possible to avoid a dualism, especially in Rome, where the recusant monk and the poorest priest counted for more than a colonel, and where the environment, especially during the last years of the Papacy, was anything but military. The Italian officers, almost all natives of the ancient Papal State, belonged to the middle-class, and the two aristocracies, ecclesiastical and lay, held them of small account. But foreign officers, especially if they bore titles, were treated by them with the highest consideration and courtesy.

If the Secretary of State had borne everything with consummate tact, in order to remain near the Pope, no sooner did he feel himself master of the situation, than he not only did not forgive his enemies, but gradually disposed of them. He was implacable to the judges who had condemned Fausti, and, as long as he lived, none entered the Sacred College.

Nevertheless, though by the *novus ordo*, Antonelli was restored, nothing was done to reinstate Fausti, who, although he was treated with consideration,

remained in prison until 1867. Pius IX., perhaps remorseful, wished to draw a veil over the affair, and to those who spoke of it he always remarked that he desired nothing better than to pardon Fausti, if he would only make the request. But Fausti protested his innocence, and would ask for nothing but a revision of his case. When Pius IX. heard that his attempts had proved fruitless he could not forbear remarking, alluding to Antonelli: "It's that gentleman up there who will not permit it." The Pope knew that the Secretary of State advised against petitioning for pardon. Thereupon Pius IX., who was exceedingly obstinate, ordered Fausti's release after four years of prison, but no moral satisfaction was accorded.

It was only after the Pope's death that some reparation was accorded to him and his family. Leo. XIII., fully acquainted with all the enormities of the case, assisted the family generously. Fausti died in December, 1895, aged nearly ninety, persuaded that he had been the victim of an unparalleled iniquity.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE VEGEZZI AND TONELLO MISSIONS

DISCUSSIONS concerning the Roman question were frequent in Parliament, but led to no other result than straining the relations between Italy and the Holy See and yet further furnishing the papers with polemical matter. The Syllabus had aroused violent controversies concerning politics and doctrine. The religious condition of Italy had become deplorable owing to the fact that over a hundred bishoprics were vacant. Many bishops, owing to revolutionary menaces, or their own caprice or fear, had fled.

Such was the state of affairs when the Pope, putting aside his own feelings, and following the dictates of his heart, wrote to King Victor Emmanuel, on March 5, 1865, the memorable letter in which he invited him "to send to Rome persons in whom he trusted, so that means might be found to remove all obstacles impeding the relief of great religious necessities."

It was impossible to ignore this apostolic invitation, and in the same month Lamarmora sent the Deputy Saverio Vegezzi to Rome, an equitable man

of sincere Catholic feelings, competent to decide questions of ecclesiastical law, and, as assistant, Maurizio, professor of penal law. Lamarmora gave written instructions to Vegezzi, but these included three conditions which made agreement impossible: a modification of the diocesan boundaries, with a consequent reduction of income; the appointing of new bishops; and the obligation of taking the oath of fealty to the King, without exception or distinction. A charge of this nature, given officially for the first time to a representative of the Italian government, of necessity aroused tenacious prejudices and vested interests, and alarmed diplomacy.

The delegates of the Italian government arrived in Rome unacquainted with any person of the Vatican world excepting only Monsignor Cerruti. A further difficulty consisted in the fact that, since 1863, the Italian government had no representative, not even a commercial one, in Rome.

Vegezzi and Maurizio, who lodged at an hotel, went about alone cautiously, avoiding publicity. The National Committee endeavoured to enter into relations with them, but they were more than prudent, they remained impenetrable. Keeping strictly to their instructions, they would not stir a step beyond them. They did not see the Pope, and treated only with Antonelli. He absolutely vetoed the proposals as soon as they were mentioned, he would not even discuss the reduction of the dioceses. He consented to the proposed oath, but only for the bishops

belonging to those States who had a Concordat with the Holy See. In no wise would he consent to the right of nomination nor of the presentation of the bull of appointment to obtain the *exequatur*. The cardinal declared that, while admitting, as a necessary basis for negotiations, the existence of the kingdom of Italy, he declined to recognise any claim to rights. Although Vegezzi declared that the Italian government did not press the point that the Holy See should insist upon a demand for the *exequatur* on the part of the bishops, but only that they should be free to ask it. Antonelli would not accept even this concession, declaring that under no condition and on no terms should the Pontifical bulls be submitted to the royal *exequatur*. With regard to the nominations, he would only admit that they should be enforced in the dioceses of the old provinces and in those under royal protection, numerous in the southern provinces. Lamarmora had accorded scant freedom of action to Vegezzi: indeed, by formulating as a *sine qua non* the reduction of the dioceses and the oath, he betrayed absolute ignorance of the fundamental basis of the Roman Curia. With regard to the oath, he laid no stress on the words, but on the fact that all bishops must take it without exception. According to his point of view, the substitution of the new kingdom for the old governments was an accomplished fact for the episcopate, who must consider themselves civil servants. Lamarmora had little knowledge of such subjects, he only saw the mechanical side and,

accustomed to commanding soldiers, he was not equal to treating a problem of such importance.

Vegezzi's mission failed. The Pope was chagrined, because he himself had provoked it. He stated later that the negotiations had been broken off on account of the excessive pretensions of the Italian government. Still more displeased were the impoverished bishops, many of whom were obliged to beg shelter in convents. The scapegoat for the ill-success of the affair was Monsignor Cerruti, who was removed from Rome. He had dreamed of the purple, and attributed, with truth, his misfortunes to the failure of Vegezzi's mission.

Two years later negotiations were reopened with a second mission confided to Michelangelo Tonello. After the war of 1866, the peace with Austria and the acquisition of Venetia, the political situation was radically modified. Baron Ricasoli was again Prime Minister and Emilio Visconti Venosta was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ricasoli, after concluding the peace negotiations with Austria, had preceded the renewed negotiations with Rome with an act authorising the absentee bishops to return to their respective dioceses, and guaranteeing, without any equivalent, their personal security and the enjoyment of their temporalities. Ricasoli deluded himself when he dreamed that any liberality on the part of the Italian government would appease the Curia, and that the liberty of the Church, loyally conceived and applied, would, little by little, prepare the way by natural evolution,

for the end of the temporal power. These deeply-rooted convictions inspired the instructions he gave to Tonello. The first meeting with Cardinal Antonelli was distinguished by the greatest courtesy. The delegates were received by the Pope, who was most amiable and seemed satisfied and almost to expect the King's letter, though he remarked that he had received no official notice of the mission. Tonello observed that the King's letter carried more weight than any credentials. Tonello's reports to the Ministry were marked by a precision of ideas and measured language. It would have been easy to grow confused in that maze of doubts and subterfuges, of expedients and tricks, indulged in by Antonelli; for though it was to his interest to come to an agreement, he would not appear to yield, nor was the Holy See disposed to recognise the New Italy. These negotiations lasted a month. Pius IX., in the first audience, declared that though treating with the Italian representative, he had no intention of resigning any of his political rights, and that it was only to provide for the good of the respective States that caused him to be not averse to try and find some common ground for a *modus vivendi*. Tonello seized this opportunity to assure the Pope that the return of the bishops to their deserted Sees having preceded his arrival in Rome, the most burning question and the one which had caused the failure of Vegezzi's mission, was eliminated, and that the desire of the Italian government to reconcile the legitimate liberty of the

Church with the exigences and the protection of religious interests, and the independence of the Pontiff, was profound and sincere. He drew attention also to the fact, as if incidentally, of how a decrease in the number of dioceses would better the financial condition of the bishops, and how a more reasonable division of ecclesiastical property would prove advantageous both to the more needy bishops and to the poorest parish priests. Tonello declared that the Italian government did not ask for an equal *quid pro quo* of concessions. The mission was inspired by higher motives; it only touched on these questions of a spiritual character in order that the Church might feel completely assured that no obstacle would be put in its way to the free exercise of its ministry in Italy, as Italy would continue to follow the road of moderation and liberty. On one point only the Italian government insisted, and that was that the names of the priests chosen for the episcopate should be laid before it—a right to which it was entitled as the representative of the people and the laity, who formerly took part in the election of bishops; but even on this point it raised no question of form.

The government was willing to renounce its requirements as to the political oath, observing justly, that, since the new laws deprived the clergy of all intervention in the civil acts of the State, the bishops could no longer be considered as equals with public functionaries; hence the taking the oath would be illogical and arbitrary. The *exequatur* was to be

limited to the temporalities, all other Pontifical acts should be uncontrolled—that is, all which touched upon matters of conscience or concerned the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the sphere of spiritual activities. It was not possible for the Pope and Antonelli to remain indifferent to such proposals.

It seems scarcely credible that only eighteen months had elapsed between the presentation of these conditions and those of Vegezzi, so far-reaching was the difference between them. Tonello's instructions contained the germs of that modern point of view, which, later on, formed the basis of the Law of Guarantee. It was the first time for six years that the Italian government, overcoming its old Jacobin prejudices, relinquished all useless restrictions. Tonello sent his reports by hand as far as Terni, whence the registered letter proceeded to Florence by the ordinary postal route. Perusing these interesting reports, we perceive how these negotiations, despite continuous, though courteous, polemics between Tonello and the Secretary of State, gradually arrived at some positive conclusions, although Antonelli continued to declare that he regarded them as expedients, which in no way derogated from the principles. Tonello, with his Piedmontese calm, discussed the expedients proposed by the cardinal, accepting them and causing them to be accepted when it suited him. Antonelli understood at once that the government, with the Bill about to be placed before the Chamber, intended to give the

Church full liberty, abolishing the oath, the *exequatur*, and the *placet*. Thus the cardinal gradually abandoned his first irreconciliable attitude, and accepted the proposal that the new nominations should be made by agreement between the Holy See and the Italian government. This was the essential point. But since it was not wished that the world should know that there had been any official dealings with the Italian government, Antonelli, as a last expedient, proposed that the intermediary between the Holy See and the government at Florence should be this same Tonello, who, by his conduct, had inspired the Pope with great confidence. The Minister accepted. All this naturally meant that Tonello was the official agent of the Italian government accredited to the Apostolic See.

Yet another purpose to be effected by the mission was the cancelling of the nomination of Ballerini, as archbishop of Milan, a nomination made during the last days of Austrian domination in Lombardy. Ballerini had Austrian sympathies and was a reactionary, and the Italian government did not desire that he should occupy the chair of St. Ambrose. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided to give him a pension in exchange and the title of Patriarch of Alessandria. Monsignor Calabiana was transferred to the See of Milan. Nor was Calabiana's position as Senator of the kingdom regarded as an impediment. This was the most complete victory. Minor questions concerning ecclesiastical property were

further discussed and proposals accepted, but nothing more was obtained than is contained in Article 33 of the law for the suppression of religious bodies. This Article provides that the government shall undertake to preserve the buildings and their dependencies, such as libraries, archives, works of art, scientific instruments in the abbeys of Montecassino, Cava de' Tirreni, the Certosa at Pavia, San Martino della Scala, and Monreale, because of their artistic and monumental importance, charging the expenses to the culture fund. These exceptions rendered the suppressions less odious, and also helped to retain to the world those ancient lighthouses of human culture. The Benedictine community was not dispersed, but continued to flourish in its old abodes.

The scheme of a *modus vivendi*, both in religious and political affairs, made headway in the minds of the Pope and Antonelli. Times had indeed changed. The Secretary of State told Tonello that the moment the Army of Occupation left Rome, the Pontifical government would order its frontier troops to act in accord with the Italian Army in the suppression of brigandage. Minister Borgatti, replying to Tonello, said that the government was not averse to studying and examining this and other *expedients* of Antonelli's. On December 30 Tonello again saw the Pope, who expressed his satisfaction at the favourable turn that things were taking. In the early days of January Tonello again conferred with Antonelli with reference to the brigandage. The cardinal informed him that

the government had arrested about two hundred persons belonging to the kingdom of Naples, and, in agreement with France, but also in agreement with the Italian government, intended to transfer them to Algiers to avoid all demands for extradition.

In July of the same year a deputy questioned the Chamber concerning the Tonello mission. The discussion lasted from the 9th to the 15th, and ended with an order of the day, which was accepted, and demolished nearly all that had been achieved. Consequently the old struggle was renewed, and the situation of the problem dealing with the liberty of the Church and religious peace was indefinitely postponed. The Ministry submitted from sheer weakness, and Rattazzi, who, four months previously had maintained diametrically opposite views, now contradicted himself absolutely. But thus it happens in Parliamentary assemblies where the convenience of the moment, both for moral and political questions, predominates, and the most impossible contradictions find plausible justification. And, what is worse, oblivion covers worse things than political contradiction.

On December 31, 1866, the French left Rome, and in accordance with the obligations Italy had undertaken by the Convention of September in respect to the integrity of the Papal State and the defence of the frontier, it was requisite that the relations should be frank and that there should be initiated between State and Church a new and liberal legislation, in

order finally to restore religious peace to Italy. This was the point of view of Ricasoli and his Ministry; but on April 10, 1861, Ricasoli retired from the government and was succeeded by Rattazzi, whose tendency and aims were decisive, and which were shortly to lead to such disastrous consequences.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH FROM ROME

IN December, 1865, when, as a result of the Convention of September, the French began to leave, Baron Bettino Ricasoli arrived in Rome and took up his residence in his villa outside Porta San Pancrazio. His visit had nothing to do with politics. He ardently loved Rome, and was a mystic who dreamed of Church reform, a patriot, who ever looked to the Eternal City. He was much at the Castellani's, begging his friends to show great discretion after the departure of the French, now that the great experiment was being made. He repeated what he said as Minister, that the only way to cut the Roman knot was by a sincere agreement between the Pope and Italy, and that his dominant desire was the liberation of Rome, the predestined capital of the new kingdom.

Baron Ricasoli neither asked to be received by the Pope nor did he call upon Antonelli or any official person. He saw the Duke of Sermoneta many times, and in his drawing-room met the leaders of society.

He was left unmolested by the police, who limited themselves to spying on his movements.

The Carnival of 1866 was one of the most brilliant in Roman society, and the costume-ball, given by the Borghese and repeated in Casa Salviati, was long talked of. Many ladies wore the dresses of their ancestresses. The guests who did not come in fancy dress wore Venetian cloaks, trimmed with valuable black lace, thrown over their tail-coats. It was the last great fancy-dress ball of Pontifical Rome.

These years, 1864—67, were relatively the least disturbed. It seemed as if all the dangerous elements had left the city, and that the National Committee, whose ranks had been decimated by arrests and banishments, had slackened its activity. The Sapienza, too, was quiet, because deserted by her most spirited young men. Indeed, the number of students was reduced by half, hence the noisy demonstrations of the previous years no longer occurred. Nevertheless, the excesses of the police continued. After the death of Fortunato Castellani, the police, fearing demonstrations, forbade his relations to attend the funeral. The arrest of a young Russian, by name Nicolas Nagathim, mistaken for a woman, was one of the most ridiculous blunders effected by the police. He was at the Valle Theatre, and, going out after the first act, was arrested, accused by some Belgians enrolled in the Pontifical Army, who stated they had travelled with him from Marseilles to Civita Vecchi. It chanced that Alexandre Dumas,

père, was on board, and he and the young Russian, who had been introduced to him, held long conversations together. The Belgians, who saw him in the theatre, took him for the young woman who always followed the great novelist, and declared that she had come to Rome to distribute revolutionary tracts! When it was proved that he was not a woman, Nagathim was released.

Whether for the interior or abroad, passports became more difficult to obtain. The passport for abroad, issued by the Secretary of State, was a monumental affair. I have one of 1865 before me as I write, signed by Cardinal Antonelli, and given to Professor Paolo Volpicalla. It is thirty-eight centimetres high and thirty broad.

At each stopping-place the passport had to be stamped on the back either by the Consul, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or the police. Passports for the interior were simpler, and were issued by the Vice-Chamberlain of the Holy Church and the Director-General of Police. They cost twenty *baiocchi*, and had to be viséd by the police of the towns where the traveller stopped, stating the probable length of his residence. On his return, the traveller was obliged, within twenty-four hours of his arrival, to present himself at the headquarters of the police at Montecitorio to have his passport viséd if he desired to continue his journey, bringing with him the certificate of entrance, signed by the police-inspector of the gate by which he entered

the city. The first certification had to be that of the gate by which he left. It ran as follows: "*Visto sortire dalla porta il giorno . . . alle ore . . .* " ("Seen leaving by the gate on . . . at the hour . . . "). And yet, in spite of so many precautions, it was easy, by means of bribery, to get in and out of the city without any passport at all. When the capital was transferred to Florence one had to apply to the police for a special permission to return to one's country, making a declaration that one had not been among those who had subscribed to the address to King Victor Emmanuel or the Emperor Napoleon. Naturally, not everyone who wished to return was so foolish as to subject themselves to these truly childish conditions.

Previous to the French evacuation a deputation of Roman emigrants had proceeded to Caprera and incited Garibaldi to land on the Continent and liberate the *urbs*, and it was reported that some representatives of the Roman National Committee accompanied it.

Three days before the fall of the Ricasoli Ministry the first revolutionary manifesto appeared in Rome, signed "Centre of Insurrection," initiating the movement and investing Garibaldi with full powers "as the only general of the Roman Republic who had not given up his arms at the entry of the French into Rome." This Insurrectionary Centre, a branch of the Committee of Action, Mazzinian in sympathy, saw the hour approaching when it would supersede the National Committee, faithful to the monarchy.

Garibaldi accepted the offer with the object of uniting all the forces. He constituted at Florence "the Central Committee of Insurrection," nominating as chiefs the Deputies Crispi, Cairoli, Laporta, Miceli, and Oliva, but no Roman. Garibaldi, after the war of 1866, had travelled all through Venetia, where national enthusiasm was as yet unawakened, and by his speeches on the liberation of Rome stirred the people to show some public spirit. He entered Venice like a king, took part in the electoral movement against the Ministry, and when Ricasoli fell Garibaldi wrote more than thirty proclamations in praise of "the Holy Carbine" (*Santa Carabina*).

The departure of the French was accomplished in December, 1866. The Castle of St. Angelo was handed to the Pontifical troops on the 11th, and on the 15th the evacuation of Civita Vecchia was accomplished, to the joy of the native soldiers, who immediately replaced the French garrison. But neither the Curia nor the Pope were tranquil. Pius IX. remarked to General Di Montebello and his staff, when they took their leave of him: "The revolution will soon reach Rome. They say Italy is made! No! This piece of ground is still wanting. When this is no more, the revolutionary flag will fly from the capital of the Catholic world."

On the morning of December 16 a manuscript manifesto was posted up:

"Romans! The French, folding their flag, retire from our soil. Thus falls the ægis which for seven-

teen years has defended a government, as inefficient as it was unmerciful, from the anger of Rome.

"All true Liberals recognise the necessity of uniting in one common action and of combining to make one supreme effort. There are those watching for the opportune moment to revolt and to prepare the necessary elements for victory. Until that moment comes distrust all unknown agitators, avoid every disturbance which might prove a trap of the enemy.

"Prepare yourselves for combat with serene confidence. When the hour of redemption arrives we will call you to arms. Long live liberated Rome, the capital of Italy!

(Signed) "THE COMMITTEE OF ACTION."

The war of 1866, so unfortunate for Italy, left behind it a residue of rancour and hatred among all parties. Especially discontented was Garibaldi, who, now that Venetia was free, wished to devote himself to the liberation of Rome. Mazzini, too, insisted on this point, desiring that the accomplishment of the national idea should fall to the lot of the Republicans. At that time Mazzini maintained, with doubtful good faith and no less obstinacy, that the renunciation of Rome on the part of the Italian government was explicitly set forth in a special protocol, kept by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and tied with a ribbon, the very colour of which he knew.

The Ministry presided over by Ricasoli did not disguise to themselves the difficulties to be confronted after the departure of the French soldiers from Rome.

Neither could they shut their eyes to the possibility of the Pope's departure from Rome in case of a general uprising. In November, 1866, the Emperor Napoleon sent General Fleury to Florence, on a mission to the King and his government. He was charged to say that the Emperor, faithful to his undertakings, had completed the evacuation of the troops on the day fixed by the Convention, but, at the same time, it was his duty to announce, in a friendly, but explicit manner, that if the result of this departure should be the fall of the temporal power, either through an invasion or through a revolution, which would be generally credited as due to an understanding with the Italian government, that Convention would appear a trick in the eyes of France and the world. This he could not allow, and in such a case would be obliged to send back the troops to the Pontifical territory. General Fleury took pains to inform them of the state of French opinion after the Prussian victories, and that the Emperor, after Sadowa, was no longer the arbiter of foreign politics. Hence it would be a grave error not to recognise the new state of affairs. Ricasoli took severe precautions, and also sent instructions and advice to the National Committee in Rome that tranquillity might be preserved; but he refused to entertain Fleury's injunction that in the speech from the throne to the new Chamber Victor Emmanuel should make a formal renunciation of Rome!

Ricasoli, after the unfortunate result of the campaign of 1866, the general elections of 1867, and the

first crisis, which indicated the new trend of his policy, did not long remain in office. Early in March, 1867, he presented his resignation.

Rattazzi, his successor, whose political antecedents were questionable, felt the need of causing Aspromonte to be forgotten and to enter into favour with the Left, flattering, and perhaps deluding it, without openly separating himself from the Right, although he had, from the first, been in opposition to the more orthodox section of the latter party. The result was a heterogeneous Ministry of secondary importance. The principal, and, in fact, the only real politician, was Rattazzi, to whom, rather than to the King, his Ministers believed they owed their nomination. Assuming the leadership on April 10, Rattazzi made the following declaration upon the Roman question: "As for Rome," he said, "we have a Convention with France; we will respect it loyally; time will solve this question. But we will not allow any act which may compromise the future or render doubtful our firm resolve to sustain the responsibility we have accepted."

Before many weeks had elapsed there occurred the much-discussed diplomatic incident regarding the Franco-Roman Legions. The arrival of General Dumont in Rome, to review that Legion, provoked outcries and protests that France had substituted a masked occupation for an official one, and therefore had failed to maintain her agreement.

Discontent and anxiety began to be manifested in

France, owing to Garibaldi's attitude and his proposals concerning Rome, and also because of the purely passive attitude of the Italian government.

Immediately after the French evacuation the Pontifical diplomats began to correspond with the Catholic Courts, pointing out the new perils for the Holy See, which Cardinal Antonelli asserted was menaced by an armed invasion, organised in Florence, which would shortly be effected. On the other side, Rattazzi had no faith in the sincerity of the National Committee nor in its leaders, all men belonging to the Right.

CHAPTER XXX

THREE MONTHS OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS—THE RETURN OF THE FRENCH

AN intangible something, not reassuring about the Convention of September, began to pervade the air. Victor Emmanuel, in his speech from the throne on March 23, said, almost timidly, referring to the Garibaldian movement, "The time is past for bold proposals and daring undertakings. . . . Now that the nation's existence is assured, Italy requires that strength of mind and soul should not be dissipated in either intemperate action nor in strife." He made no further reference to the Roman question. If Garibaldi's soul was intemperate during Ricasoli's Ministry, it expended itself only in speeches, but scarcely had Rattazzi formed his Cabinet than Garibaldi entered the camp of action. The first alarm was sounded in April by the French diplomats in Rome and Florence. They foresaw clearly the perils ahead, although Rattazzi repeated his assurances that he was firmly resolved to observe the Convention. Before two months had passed, however, the fears

Cardinal Antonelli had expressed from the first that the Italian government would not protect the frontier efficaciously, were realised. In June a band of insurgents, formed at Terni, resolved to penetrate into the Pontifical territory; its formation was not opposed, but afterwards it was energetically dispersed by the prefect of Perugia. Other bands were heard of as preparing in the vicinity of Siena and Naples. On the 22nd Garibaldi went to Monsummano, and, in reply to an address presented by forty Garibaldians, he said: "I do not know what to say to you; I will speak to you about that trash we call priests. If you have brothers, sisters, nephews, do not let them go to Mass. To Rome we shall go, and though they hindered those valiant two hundred (referring to the Terni band), those two hundred will become two thousand, and those two thousand twenty thousand." On the 29th, when some Garibaldians from Pistoia greeted him, he said: "To-day there is high festival in Rome for the centenary of St. Peter. When the Deputies whom you sent to Parliament return home if they have served their country well, applaud them; if not, do not lack the courage to hate them and even to beat them, without fear of public opinion, give blow for blow," and other vulgarities of a like character. At Pescia he told a cheering crowd: "Rome has always been my aim; let us go there, and quickly extirpate that brood of vipers who have always harmed Italy." At Siena he said: "Crowned and mitred heads have made this Convention to keep the Italians

from Rome, but that Convention shall be broken." At Orvieto he said: "Italy is not yet made. Those who hinder it are first the priests and then Bonaparte. . . . To Rome we must go; . . . without Rome Italy cannot be made. . . ." And finally, at the Peace Congress at Geneva, he declared that "the Papacy was the most hurtful of pests, and should be declared at an end," and officially announced that he undertook the liberation of Rome. His intentions were therefore no longer doubtful, but the Ministry acted as though unaware of them, though at the very time branch Committees of the Centre of Insurrection were being constituted, which Rattazzi pronounced harmless.

The gravity of the experiment had not been sufficiently pondered by the framers of the September Convention. It resembled straw condemned to be set close by the fire without burning. The Convention was impossible owing to these two circumstances: that no Parliamentary government could enter into such an agreement for an indefinite period, and that Garibaldi and the Revolution would constitute a danger for it as soon as the government showed the slightest weakness or was suspected of a different political tendency. Added to this, there was the obstinate attitude of the Piedmontese deputation, which had deserted from the old basis of Cavour's majority and urged the Ministry towards Rome. Rattazzi, as was to be foreseen, soon became swayed by two opposing currents. Thus, Republicans, faithful to the Mazzinian

doctrines, Republicans reluctantly converted to the monarchy, members of the Left of every origin and of every or no faith, Roman emigrants and turbulent spirits from all parts of Italy, incited Garibaldi to proceed with his Roman enterprise; nor did the Ministry dare to oppose it. It was not till September 21 that it occurred to the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* to menace those who preached desertion to soldiers in order to swell the Garibaldian ranks. On the 24th, after the French protest became more insistent, the Ministry ordered Garibaldi's arrest at Sinalunga, where he was preparing to cross the frontier.

With Garibaldi's imprisonment, followed by no other repressive measures, the movement, instead of expiring, took on new life. At Florence tumults occurred under Rattazzi's windows. From Caprera Garibaldi encouraged his friends to push on, leading them to hope that, at the critical moment, he would be in their midst. His son Menotti was his representative. Rattazzi, paralysed by the menacing influences of the Committee of Insurrection and of Crispi, a man of much stronger will, could not decide on adopting a resolute course. His illusions were possibly sincere, nor was he alone in deluding himself in regard to Napoleon III. Above all was Victor Emmanuel deluded. He remembered what had happened in 1860—menaces, protests, the recall of diplomatic agents, but never intervention. In vain Nigra warned him that the conditions were changed.

It will not be difficult for a future inquirer to discover

to what extent Victor Emmanuel encouraged the insurrectionary movement of 1867 in the Pontifical territory. He was a conspirator King who had a diplomacy and a policy all his own, acting sometimes in contradiction to his Ministers, and provoking Ministerial crises. He had agents both in the Garibaldian and the Mazzinian camps.

The situation became more difficult daily, but Rattazzi paid no heed to the French menaces, persuaded that should France attack Italy national sentiment would be unanimous against the invaders; and were Italy beaten Europe would defend it. This he stated in the Parliamentary discussions.

But at the last moment, when he became conscious of the sad reality, he lacked the courage to jump the ditch, and refused to listen to Crispi's imperative advice, telegraphed from Terni on October 18: "Hesitate no longer; free Garibaldi; cross the frontier; occupy Civita Vecchia immediately; give the French no time. Honour and the welfare of Italy exact it. Your reputation depends on it." He preferred to send in his resignation.

The agitation, which had never slackened, grew in alarming proportions during the latter part of October, and became absolutely revolutionary after the fall of the Ministry and the landing of Garibaldi on the Continent. Umbria was the headquarters of the nsurrection, all Italy was honeycombed with committees of enrolment, and subscription lists were opened. By September 20 four hundred Garibaldians

had penetrated into Acquapendente, who, after a brush with the Pontifical *gensdarmes*, continued on their way to Bagnorea. Another irruption took place a few days later at Sabrina. The insurgents, commanded by Menotti Garibaldi and Achille Fazzari, came to blows with the Zouaves at Montelibretti. The engagement was bloody; Fazzari, seriously wounded, was taken prisoner, and the insurgents were unable to continue their march to Corese.

Fresh bands started up on all sides. The Ministry no longer perceived whither they were drifting, or rather they lacked strength to oppose. They concerned themselves with sending colourless instructions to the prefects; the military authorities were not seconded by the police. On October 12 Moustier communicated to Nigra that he thought the hour for intervention had struck, seeing the inability of the Italian government to suppress the revolution. Nigra informed the Ministry, and Rattazzi replied with many lame pretexts, affirming it was impossible to stop the invasions without letting the Italian troops occupy the Pontifical territory, and commanded him to inform Moustier "that the menaced French intervention would be the most fatal solution and a manifest violation of the September Convention. If the French troops march upon Rome we shall be obliged to intervene, and must inevitably occupy the Pontifical territory. It is absolutely necessary if we would prevent civil war and save our institutions." It was a dignified threat not followed up by acts.

And now began the most difficult days for Nigra, placed as a diplomat and a man of honour in the most delicate position. He was convinced that the Emperor, under no circumstances, would leave the Pope a prey to the revolution, nor permit him to be in any way deprived of the remainder of the temporal power guaranteed in the September Convention. Nigra was further persuaded that the Emperor would exhaust all his patience before embarking in a new expedition to Rome, in spite of the fact that his Ministers incited him thereto. Public opinion in France had been strangely roused, and clamoured for intervention, but the Emperor felt doubtful and hesitated. Nigra suggested to Rattazzi, with reserve, and upon his own initiative, the idea of a Congress, to modify the impressions which an eventual Italian intervention in the Pontifical States would produce in France. But Rattazzi rejected the idea of a Congress, perhaps because he still deluded himself that he could overcome all difficulties with chicanery.

The new Ministry was still unformed, and Cialdini, who was charged to construct it, came to Florence, and applied himself to the task. Things had reached such a pass that, in order to avoid a conflict with France, it was either necessary to make a backward movement—an effort which he felt incapable of making—or, in view of preventing the French troops from landing, to march upon Rome and Civita Vecchia. Although this was a bold step, Cialdini was prepared

to take it, not foreseeing the opposition of the King, who shrank from every occasion or pretext of conflict with France, and yet did not desire to retrace his steps. Thus five days of governmental inaction passed, to the advantage of the revolution. An excuse for Cialdini is found in the fact that, from the day Rattazzi sent in his resignation the real government was the Committee or Centre of Insurrection, of which Crispi was the leading spirit. The late Ministry had abdicated all power, justifying its acts by the curious theory that, during a Ministerial crisis, the resigning Ministers were at liberty to do as they pleased. On October 22 Garibaldi, called by his friends, and eluding the burlesque cruiser, arrived almost unexpectedly at Florence. He was received with frenzied demonstrations, and spoke to the people of the speedy liberation of Rome, and left on the 23rd by special train for Perugia, Foligno, and Terni, crossing the frontier on the 24th. Assuming supreme command of the insurrectionary forces, he directed an attack upon Monterotondo on the 25th. The fortress was taken. Monterotondo, but twenty-six kilometres distant from Rome, was almost the last stage on the way there. Such events scarcely contributed to cheer Cialdini and his friends, and, though the King insisted that he should remain in office, Cialdini resigned.

The news that Garibaldi, traversing Tuscany and Umbria, had occupied Monterotondo and was marching upon Rome, and the tumults in that city, increased public agitation in France, as if the enemy

were at their own gates. It was a very obsession that seemed to pervade all classes. The Emperor, always vacillating, held out as long as he could, but finally commanded the departure of the squadron; nor did he stay his hand in consequence of an almost supplicating telegram from Victor Emmanuel, dated 25th, which said: "Garibaldi has been arrested twice, and would have been a third time but for a Ministerial crisis. The volunteers, instead of increasing, are diminishing, because of the great numbers interned. It is absolutely false that cannons and horses have been supplied them. I can assure all this in the most positive form. The situation here is serious and difficult; but I hope to master it, retaining the friendly relations which unite us, if no sudden resolve renders my task too difficult."

The Emperor replied: "At your request I have suspended till now the sailing of the fleet, but no Cabinet is formed, the revolutionists continue to invade the Pontifical States, Rome itself is in much danger; I can, therefore, no longer delay the occupation of Civita Vecchia. This measure is in no way hostile to Italy." The *Moniteur*, repeating the same assurance, announced on the 26th the departure of the troops.

The humorous side of the matter was the order for Garibaldi's second arrest. Instead of telegraphing, an inspector was sent to overtake the General. The inspector, arriving at Terni, found that Garibaldi had left for Rieti; he went on to Rieti, but Garibaldi had proceeded towards Scandriglia, the last place on the

Sabina and Pontifical frontier. The prefect of Rieti ordered out all the mounted carabineers at his disposal "at the galop" to search for the General, but Garibaldi had crossed the frontier. The carabineers returned empty-handed, and, according to the prefect's report, the people, who had been much agitated, for they guessed their purpose, quieted down on seeing them thus return. This justified the rumour that Rattazzi had ordered Garibaldi's arrest, but with instructions that he should not be overtaken. Between a Ministry which had resigned and governed without responsibility, submissive to the Committee of Insurrection, and the latter, which had become a government, the confusion that reigned in public affairs is indescribable.

The Pontifical army, paralysed by the agitation of the insurrectionary forces, and recognising the futility of resistance, either because of the number or because of the audacity of the troops with the country in a ferment, was recalled to Rome by Kanzler. He wished to make the defence from there. General Zappi, who commanded the Second Division, receiving orders to arrange for the defence, issued notices that all the city gates be closed at nightfall, and requested the Romans to remain at home after that hour. At any sign of alarm, announced by five cannon shots, they were to close shops, doors, and premises.

This order was dated October 23. On the 25th another order pronounced Rome and its neighbourhood in a state of siege. The police showed great

activity and made many arbitrary arrests. The gates were barricaded, and the people lived in a state of fear and uncertainty. The wildest rumours were afloat. The characteristic clerical precautions, especially those of the nuns of the richest convents and of lower-class citizens, as well as those of the police, all helped to create a singular state of affairs in which comedy went hand in hand with tragedy. The citizens were content to look out of window, or remained close side their homes if they went out; and the women, if they heard any sound, hastened to call in their husbands. Some sought refuge in houses where flew foreign flags. Many nobles had departed, only in the Sermoneta household did joy reign. Onorato Caetani had returned to Rome in those days, a happy bridegroom. On the 21st a gala carriage was seen crossing the Ponte S. Angelo on its way to the Vatican. It contained the Duke of Sermoneta on his way to present the married couple to the Pope. He expected that Pius IX. would have referred to the news of the day. Instead he conversed about the great masters of music, told anecdotes of Rossini and the "Barbiere de Seviglia," and presented the young Princess di Teano with a small Conception in ivory.

Rattazzi had always reckoned on a rising in Rome which would offer the pretext for an intervention. The Central Committee had sent Cucchi to Rome with the object of fusing the two parties and of promoting the revolution or at least such a rising as would furnish the government with an excuse for

intervention. He only found that a few were ready to propose criminal projects, the rest were indifferent and not disposed to risk their lives. He returned to Florence, almost disillusioned. It is probable that the Ministry did not ignore, and even favoured Cucchi's mission. It is certain that at this most critical moment, that is, during the second week of October, when the Ministry wavered between doubt and fear of intervention, and no longer felt itself strong enough to direct the revolutionary movement, still less to control it, it sent Canon Ortalda of Turin on a mission to the Pope, that he might induce him to ask for the help of the Italian troops. Needless to say the mission was an absolute failure.

Immediately after Rattazzi's resignation Cucchi went to Rome, again bearing with him Cialdini's explicit assurance that if he succeeded in forming a Ministry and if anything happened in Rome that gave occasion for an intervention, without further hesitation, he would march upon the Eternal City. It was, therefore, necessary that something should happen, but the Roman public was afraid to rise or to compromise itself. The two Committees, instead of acting, continued to exchange accusations of treason and cowardice. It was needful to import arms, men, bombs, and whatever else was requisite for an insurrection. Men did arrive, one by one, halting outside the walls near Porta S. Paolo, or entered the city with much caution. Some of the populace succeeded in undermining the barracks where the Zouaves were

quartered. The signal for rising was given by Cucchi on the evening of the 22nd, because he then expected the arrival of Enrico and Giovanni Cairoli and their followers, not numerous, it is true, but consisting almost entirely of Lombards, determined upon selling their lives dear. They were to land at the Passeggiata di Ripetta, but, unfortunately, there was a delay of twenty-four hours, which perhaps, caused the failure of the revolt and led to the tragedy of Villa Glori. The revolution broke out without unity of direction, both at Porta S. Paolo and the Campidoglio. A bomb was thrown, killing a sentry in Piazza Colonna, and part of the mined barracks was blown up. But the efforts were all vain. Other men, determined to act, arrived, but the unsuccessful result of this first attempt and the want of enthusiasm among those concerned destroyed all faith in success. The destruction of the barracks, burying under its ruins several musicians, nearly all Italians, added no friends to the Liberal cause and only produced a great alarm at the Vatican. Although Pius IX. showed no fear, he was agitated and irascible, going to the length of imagining that it was all a comedy played at his cost by France and Italy. The next day M. Armand called to reassure him that France would never permit such an act, showing him a telegram from Paris which announced that the expedition was decided upon, and another, saying: "The Pontifical government must continue to defend itself with energy. Help from France will

not be wanting." Five days later he returned triumphant to the Vatican, assuring the Pope that the fleet would arrive at Civita Vecchia on the 28th.

The insurrectionary bands grew in number. Velletri, Terracina, and Frosinone were occupied. Small bands entered the Pontifical territory, now open and undefended, seizing on the public money-chests, plundering churches and monasteries, and refusing to obey the commanders appointed by Garibaldi. Garibaldi had issued orders after the taking of Monterotondo that the troops should concentrate to march upon Rome, but he was disobeyed. On the 27th he resumed his own march upon that city, and set up his headquarters at Castel Giubileo; throwing out advance posts to within sight of Ponte Salara and, driving in a carriage, lead a reconnoitring party as far as Ponte Nomentano. It was his last halt before Rome. He waited to hear news of the rising and the arrival of other troops. The confused and contradictory and, later, the unpropitious reports were not calculated to encourage him. He learnt that the Cairoli's attempt had failed. When he heard of the King's proclamation of the 27th and the formation of the Menabrea Ministry, his last spark of hope vanished. He also received news that the French expedition had sailed for Civita Vecchia, and, although he did not credit it, on the morning of the 31st he ordered a retreat upon Monterotondo, a retreat accomplished in great disorder and with many desertions. Garibaldi heard of the arrival of the

French from Adamoli and Guerzoni, who had seen them enter, and it was confirmed by Cucchi, who joined him at Monterotondo on November 3, at the moment when the retreating force had reached Tivoli. The King's proclamation destroyed that network of misrepresentations which agitated Italy in 1867 and brought about the return of the French.

Menabrea, as head of the new Ministry, desired, in place of men of doubtful character, seekers after popularity or timid in the face of danger, men who were safe and alive to the alarming gravity of the situation, ready to sacrifice themselves for King and country. He acted with great promptness, hoping to prevent the sailing of the squadron from Toulon; the King showed the same promptness, recognising that any time lost during the crisis might be fatal. But, on the afternoon of the 28th, the squadron arrived at Civita Vecchia. The troops disembarked at once, and the next day, with General de Polhès at their head, they entered Rome and halted in Piazza Colonna amid funereal silence. At the same time the following proclamation from the Commander-in-Chief, dated from Civita Vecchia, was posted on the walls:

"To the Roman People.

"Romans! The Emperor Napoleon once more sends an Expeditionary Force to Rome to protect the Holy Father and the Pontifical throne against the armed attacks of revolutionary bands.

"You know us well. We come, as before, to fulfil a purely moral and disinterested mission.

"We will aid you in re-establishing confidence and security. Our soldiers will continue to respect your persons, your customs, and your laws. The past guarantees this.

"Civita Vecchia, October 29, 1867.

"General-in-Chief of the French
Expeditionary Force,
"De Failly."

CHAPTER XXXI

MENTANA

ON November 1, General De Failly entered Rome, and the next day ordered a portion of the Expeditionary Force to join the Pontifical army, which, under General Kanzler, had set out, early on November 3, for Monterotondo, where lay Garibaldi's camp. Kanzler wished the Pontifical troops to take the lead. It was known that Garibaldi, aware of the arrival of the French, of the King's proclamation, and the formation of the Menabrea Ministry, convinced of the futility of further struggle, angry, and disillusioned, had issued orders for the concentration of his troops above Tivoli. In a council of war, held at Cardinal Antonelli's, in which De Failly took part, it was decided to prevent this concentration, which might prove dangerous, although it was affirmed, and with truth, that Garibaldi, abandoning all thought of Rome, intended to collect his troops, throw himself into the Abruzzi, and carry on the revolution there. However, one could not be sure of his plans, and it was thought better to drive him out of the Pontifical territory.

De Failly's zeal in sending some of his troops at

the tail of the Pontifical army to accomplish an undertaking repugnant to French soldiers, produced a bad impression. His intervention was absolutely unnecessary; for Garibaldi's army, enormously reduced by the last desertions, was retiring upon Tivoli, and the policy of the Italian government had radically changed.

"Mentana was a battle we never desired," said Bertani in the Chamber, and he was right. The Garibaldian army, on its march towards Tivoli, in a long column, whose head was at Mentana and its base still at Monterotondo, was surprised in the valley of Mentana, on the morning of November 3. The Pontifical troops, owing to the unevenness of the ground, covered with vines and canes, were not visible. This deceived Garibaldi, who thought he had only a small advance guard to deal with. The engagement extended along a line almost equal to the distance between Monterotondo and Mentana; in some places the conflict was bloody and stubborn. Garibaldi was on horseback. Despite the suddenness of the attack, the want of discipline among the rabble-members of the squadrons, and the scarcity of arms, it seemed at two o'clock as if victory would be theirs.

But the game was unequal; the enemy held all the cards. The officers, even Garibaldi himself, begged that the useless firing should cease. The number of Garibaldians dead, wounded, and taken prisoner was exaggerated; the first and second being calculated at a 1,000, and the last at about 1,400. Really,

there were less than half that number. The majority of the prisoners were conducted by the Pontificals beyond the frontier, and the minority taken to Rome and confined in Castle S. Angelo. If the French *chassepot* rifles did wonders, firing twelve rounds per minute, the Stützen carbines of the Pontificals were more murderous. The Garibaldian dead outnumbered those of the enemy.

Garibaldi's retreat from the field of Mentana to Passo Corese was dramatic in character. Mounted, followed by nearly all his Staff, he rode along Via Salara, overcome by fatigue and emotion. Next day he left for Florence by special train. His troops reached Passo Corese a disordered crowd, wounded, weary and drenched by a continuous downpour. Exhausted by fatigue and hunger, discouraged, disillusioned, they accepted proffered assistance with expressions of dumb and eloquent sadness. Some few cursed the French, the Italians, the government, and Mazzini indiscriminately, with the unconscious injustice of men stunned by a great calamity. These, however, were in the minority; the greater part only exhibited a desire to return home. When the train that contained Garibaldi arrived at Figline, a short distance from Florence, the General was arrested.

The Lieutenant-Colonel of the Carabineers, charged with this arrest, when the train stopped, mounted upon the step of the carriage occupied by Garibaldi, and in trembling and broken tones, said: "I am mortified . . . . I am extremely sorry, . . . illustrious

General, . . . to be obliged; . . . but you will understand a soldier's duty is to obey. . . . I am distressed at having to tell you . . . that in the name of the law . . . I declare you under arrest."

The calm and melancholy features of the General showed no emotion. He replied: "I understand, Colonel, your painful situation, it is no fault of yours, . . . you are only doing your duty. . . . I, however, am a Roman General, an American citizen, a Parliamentary Deputy, three titles which make my person inviolable; I cannot be arrested, and I protest against the orders which you have received as illegal."

The indignation felt by Garibaldi, by his friends, and by the remnant left from Mentana against Napoleon can be imagined. They felt equal indignation, but less justified, against Menabrea. Nor did they spare Victor Emmanuel, who was held to have favoured and then deserted the movement. They were more indulgent to Rattazzi. After the King's proclamation Mazzini's influence prevailed over Garibaldi, and, had he been victorious at Mentana and entered Rome, he would not have raised the standard of Italy and Victor Emmanuel. Until Mentana he had cherished two delusions: that the French would not come, and that the Italian government would not desert him.

Some of those who fought at Mentana recall many acts of bravery, but also some of cowardice of not a few Romans, who, at the moment when the fight was at its hottest, deserted the field. In vain did Garibaldi

try to retain them, crying: "Courage, courage, boys, long live Italy!" They replied: "You lead us to slaughter!" and disbanding, scattered over the country. The refugees had recourse to many artifices to avoid falling anew into the claws of the Pontifical government, which, the moment order was restored, proceeded against all who had taken part in the revolts of that year.

The French and Garibaldian wounded were transported to Rome and housed in improvised hospitals. A sanitary service was organised which left nothing to be desired except in the surgical branch, which was inadequate. Nearly all the doctors in the city gave their services, some young priests even asked to be allowed to assist the wounded Garibaldians.

Although all outsiders were forbidden to enter the hospitals, as many as desired penetrated under various pretexts. Mrs. Catherine Stone, an American, distinguished herself in care for the wounded, and together with her the Contessa Della Torre, who later fell under police suspicion and was banished from Rome. Even some of the ladies of high Guelph society joined in the good work, imitating the ex-Queen of Naples who, donning a white apron with large pockets filled with cigars and bonbons, distributed them among the sick, and gave a word of comfort to all. To her, as well as to Mrs. Stone, the Pope presented the medal of Mentana. Several Guelph gentlemen took night and day work in turns. The police watched the wounded Garibaldians.

If anyone calumniated the Pope or the priests he was imprisoned. If a sick man got worse, monks surrounded his bed urging him to confess and repent. If he was a Jew, they baptised him by force.

The Pontifical troops had returned on November 6. De Courten and De Polhès, on horseback, preceded the soldiers, entering Porta Pia amid festive cheers of "Long live the Pope-King! Long live the Emperor! Hurrah for France!" It seemed as though they were returning from Austerlitz. They were met near the gate by Kanzler and De Failly, and together entered the city at the head of their respective Staffs, trailing behind as trophies of war, wounded and prisoners, the first in small carts, the second on foot. They were nearly all in rags and in pain; some wore remnants of red shirts. This spectacle disgusted the populace, who blamed the French General for allowing it. The Guelph nobles met the "victors," crying "*Evviva!*" and waving handkerchiefs. Arrived before the Church della Vittoria, the two generals halted for the march past, and then Kanzler proceeded straight to the Vatican. Pius IX. received him with all honours, but tinctured with that characteristic humour which never deserted him even in the most solemn moments. He was in the throne-room, surrounded by his Court and many cardinals, when Kanzler appeared. Rising, the Pope declaimed in a loud voice the first octave of "*Gerusalemme Liberata*," to the great amusement of all present. He did not show much gratitude to Kanzler, for the pension

assigned to him was not large and the title of Baron was only bestowed upon him by Leo XIII. The Pope ordered a solemn *requiem* Mass in the Sistine Chapel for those fallen at Mentana, and himself gave the absolution at the *catafalque*. When reciting the *Oremus* he burst into tears. The Diplomatic Corps, the Staffs of the two armies, and the Black aristocracy all assisted at the ceremony. On November 13 the Pope received General De Failly and the superior officers of the French armies. He thanked and blessed them, and also blessed France and the Emperor. The next day he visited the wounded French soldiers. He also went to Castle Sant' Angelo, where he spoke words of comfort to the prisoners and furnished them with clothes and linen.

On the last day of 1867 Count de Sartiges, who had returned to Rome, received from an unknown hand a large parcel, containing a splendid engraving, representing Germany in the act of drawing her sword to defend the Rhine and advancing towards France. The engraving bore the following inscription: "*The first day of the New Year*, 1868; *to His Majesty Napoleon III., in the name of the patriots massacred in Rome and at Mentana.*" Below was written: "*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*" It was stamped in black with a representation of the arms of Rome. In spite of every effort to discover whence the parcel came, which had been left with the porter of the Embassy, it was impossible to do so. De Sartiges

remembered it three years later, when the prophecy was realised!

If the *rôle* played by Napoleon III. on this occasion was the effect of a true passive fatalism, it became odious through the foolish zeal of his Ministers. If Thiers, an enemy to the Empire and the new Italy, was violent, the imperial Ministers were insolent. Thiers cursed Italian unity, and delivered himself thus regarding the House of Savoy: "... If there is one State which has inspired us with constant distrust, it is the House of Savoy."

Rarely had the Chamber been reopened amid greater uneasiness than on December 5 of this year. It had closed on August 1 without any prevision of the events that occurred. Garibaldi was freely travelling in Upper Italy; but, with usual Italian heedlessness, no one paid much attention to his movements, because they felt reassured by Rattazzi's declarations. In the course of three months events had followed each other quickly; the invasion of the Pontifical States and the inability of the government to prevent it; its attitude during the crisis; the failure of the Roman insurrection; an extra-parliamentary crisis; the return of the foreigners and Mentana! The opposition to the Menabrea Ministry became more marked daily, the feeling in the Chamber showed itself at once after Lanza's speech. Assuming the Presidency, he declared, amid unanimous cheers, "that Rome, of necessity and by reason of the times, must be the capital of Italy." Sella then presented the order of the day, which ran:

"The Chamber, firm in its resolve to preserve inviolate the national programme with Rome as the Italian capital, passes on to the discussion of questions." Sella was desirous that a great and unanimous manifestation of protest on the part of the Italian Chamber should be lodged against Rouher's speech. Menabrea, opposing it, allowed the word *puerile* to escape him, which enraged Sella. The motion was thrown out, and the Chamber plunged into a troubled sea of discussion.

And what disputes ensued! The Italian Chamber had never known their like. Gualterio, Minister of the Interior, pronouced them "a veritable calamity for the country." They lasted from December 5—23, and would have continued longer but for the interruption of Christmas. Without Lanza's energy, tact, and equanimity they would have degenerated into tumults; for the galleries also took part in the debates, amid applause and uproar—an unheard-of thing. Eighteen days of accusations and recriminations, made in good and bad faith, of insults and indiscretions, both dramatic and comic, ensued; but one sentiment was held in common, that of asserting the national right to Rome.

Menabrea's position was most difficult—obliged, as head of the government, to repel all accusations. Neither would it have been politic for him to break with France, who promised speedily to withdraw the troops, according to Napoleon's communication to Lamarmora. The latter had been sent by the new

Ministry to Paris, to arrange that the regular army which occupied some portions of the Pontifical territory should remain there until after the decision of the European Conference proposed by Nigra. Menabrea stated with courage and dignity that the Conference "aimed only at ratifying the inviolability of the temporal power. As for us, we cannot renounce our principles, which constitute the basis of the national programme, which no Italian Ministry, no Italian Parliament would abandon. It only remains for us to stand firm and wait till the French Government evinces better sentiments towards Italy. Notwithstanding the attacks to which we have been subjected by French public opinion, we shall never forget Magenta and Solferino, and will always endeavour, whatever may be said, to be a conservative and orderly element in Europe."

Rattazzi spoke for three days. Infirm and weary, he was obliged to rest often. The deputies crowded round to hear him; but though his voice was weak, he spoke with extraordinary moral vigour. Polemical and aggressive, sarcastic and audacious, he defended himself with every rhetorical device, not disdaining subterfuges and the confusing of dates. Boldly playing with fire, he demanded the publication of the documents. He began as a Conservative, he ended as a Tribune amid warm ovations from the Left. He did not limit himself to defending his own acts, but attacked his adversaries and the Ministry. He affirmed that he had no legal power to impede the volunteers

from invading the Pontifical territory ; that the Convention obliged him to prevent the passage of bands, not single volunteers who did not bear inscribed on their foreheads that they were volunteers! It was impossible, he said, to guard four hundred kilometres of frontier, mostly mountainous. He was violent against the French, whose intervention, he declared, was a menace, and worse still, a menace of war. Had war occurred he would not have feared it, confident in public opinion, which would have risen up unanimous against French arrogance ; and it was a war which Europe would never have allowed! Bold statements, strange to hear, from a man of such political experience, but which produced an effect in an agitated and nervous political assembly. Hinting at the causes which decided him to resign, just at the moment when he had resolved to stand no more hesitations and to order the army to march upon Rome, Rattazzi outdid himself, provoking a loud protest: "You are attacking the Crown." By this speech he confirmed what the Extreme party asserted, that Victor Emmanuel favoured the undertaking and then deserted it because of the French menaces.

They were the last efforts of a great eloquence, the last flashes of the political genius of a man who had the misfortune not to have known how to foresee, prevent, or favour efficiently, the Garibaldian enterprise. But there were attenuating circumstances for Rattazzi. Mentana, from a military point of view, was an insignificant event, but it was decisive for its effects

three years after. It was regarded by the Vatican as the annihilation of the revolution. The French had returned; Garibaldi, the Garibaldians, and the Italian troops had recrossed the frontier; of the plebiscites, only the memory remained, and those who had been the most ardent in promoting them found themselves enjoying the particular attentions of the Pontifical government. The September Convention no longer existed and the Congress had been relinquished. The usual group of Roman zealots desired, by public subscription, to present a special homage to the "defenders of the civil principality of the Popes." They proposed not only to celebrate funeral Masses on behalf of the victims, but to bestow rewards and compensations in good ringing money on the victors! No great sum was collected, in spite of much advertisement. Without the help of the Sacred College and the prelacy the whole thing would have been a failure. Beside their subscriptions, the Roman patricians desired to express their personal gratitude to the defenders of the Holy See, and gave a banquet in the great hall of Palazzo Barberini to De Failly, Kanzler, De Polhès, and the superior officers of the two armies. Young men of good middle-class families offered themselves as waiters in order thus to do homage to the project. The municipality passed a vote of thanks to General Kanzler in the name of the citizens for having restored order in the city and the State. The Pope caused a Mentana medal to be struck, resembling that of Castelfidardo;

a little Greek cross in silver, with the motto "*Fidei et Virtuti*" round the keys and triple crown, on the arms of the cross, "Pius IX.," and at the foot, "1867." On the reverse, a Latin cross with the words, "*Hinc Victoria.*" With its ribbon of blue and white vertical stripes it presented an elegant appearance.

A month had barely elapsed since Mentana, when Rouher, the French Minister, in a conversation with Nigra, while assuring him that he held no commission from the Emperor, pointed out the advantages of a defensive alliance between France and Italy. Nigra limited himself to replying that he would refer the project to Menabrea, and did so without giving any opinion about it. We must therefore seek as far back as 1867 the origin of the projected alliance between France and Italy, to which, later, Austria gave its adhesion, but which was never accomplished owing to Napoleon III.'s refusal to give way upon the Roman question. Mentana, and the discussions it provoked in both Italian and French Chambers had left a great heritage of hatred between the two countries. The Emperor was not altogether at ease in respect to the general conditions of Europe and the attitude of Germany. He feared that Italy might throw herself into the arms of Prussia, whose policy in Florence and Rome had changed entirely during the September and October of that year: in Florence, encouraging the government to resist France; in Rome, encouraging the Pope to resist the revolution.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE LAST TWO YEARS

IN March, 1868, an unforeseen event occurred in high society which seemed to some an act of courage, to others, an act of imprudence and even of criminal audacity, and was for all a subject of lively discussion. Some young Roman ladies decided to offer a present to Princess Margherita, the future Queen of Italy, on the occasion of her marriage with the Prince of Piedmont, her cousin. The Duke of Sermoneta was called on to advise; he proposed a golden crown formed of olive-leaves. The Duke, although blind, offered his services, and the work was accomplished by the Castellani. The wedding took place at Florence, April 22, 1868. The ladies went there personally to present their gift, which the Princess highly appreciated and wore at the great ball at the Casino Borghese. The Liberal papers never ceased praising the Roman ladies, who met with a magnificent reception in Florence and were invited to Court. At the great ball at Palazzo Pitti, those of their husbands who had no uniforms, were dispensed from this obligation and were ranked by the Master of the

Household with the Senators and Deputies. Princess Margherita received the ladies in farewell audience, thanking them once more and saying she hoped shortly to give proofs of her gratitude. In fact, three years later, when she came to Rome and formed her Court, she made them ladies of the palace.

Needless to say, the Black aristocracy raged against the givers and the gift. They blamed the government for allowing the donors to return; but Pius IX. and Antonelli were not anxious to make themselves ridiculous by taking severe measures against Roman Princes, and waited to let the murmurs of his Black partisans die down. These, not to be outdone, decided upon making a solemn demonstration the following year, to commemorate three great events: on April 11, the fiftieth anniversary of Pius IX.'s first Mass; April 12, the nineteenth anniversary of his return to Rome; and the fifteenth anniversary of the miracle of S. Agnese. The three festivals were fused into one, and the promoters worked hard, for they were determined it should prove a success. Piazzas were converted into gardens; one of the most beautiful was that of S. Marco with a statue of Moses in the middle and a portrait of the Pope on one side. The horses and obelisk of the Quirinal and the Triton of Piazza Barberini were illuminated with small gas-jets. The editor of the *Osservatore Romano* illuminated the fountain of Trevi with Bengal lights at his own expense, which were renewed every half-hour. In Piazza della Rotonda

was seen a large picture representing the Pope with his cardinals receiving the gifts of the world and subduing the devil, who resembled Victor Emmanuel; while the church and small streets near S. Andrea, where Pius IX. had said his first Mass, were fantastically illuminated. An enormous cross, lighted at night, crowned Castel S. Angelo, and in Borgo Nuovo flowers, lights, and flags were displayed in profusion. But the most entertaining sight was seen on the morning of the 11th, when many carts passed through the city, adorned with flowers and laden with fruits, herbs and vegetables, oxen, calves, fowls, and ducks. The animals were alive, and decorated with flowers. The most amusing of all was one, full of turkeys, followed by a crowd of urchins imitating their hoarse cries. All these were on their way to the Vatican. The gifts of the nobles were not numerous. Seventy-two young patricians offered their savings as a gift. The Roman Senate presented a chalice whose base was studded with brilliants, emeralds, sapphires, and rubies in the style of the fourteenth century, designed by Duke Caetani and Augusto Castellani. The communal *employés* presented eight hundred *lire*, the Fire Brigade three hundred and seventy-seven, and the Noble Guard three thousand in gold. Liszt, who desired to have his part in the Pope's Jubilee Festival, being at Ratisbon at the time, gave a concert at which his hymn to the Pope, to S. Francis, and an *Ave Maria* were executed. It brought in thirty thousand *lire*,

which he sent to Pius IX. Gounod, who was in Rome, composed a hymn, performed by military bands upon the steps of S. Peter's. The addresses, audiences, and special petitions were numberless, but the money collected was trifling.

The greatest event, however, was the Ecumenical Council, to be inaugurated on December 8; and al the convents, hotels, foreign colleges, and keepers of furnished apartments were in a state of fevered excitement over the preparations. Lodgings had to be found for nearly all the Catholic archbishops and bishops, with their respective secretaries and theologians, about two thousand in all, who began to arrive in November. Catholic sovereigns and Princes were expected. Over five hundred workmen were employed in St. Peter's alone to transform the chapel on the right of the baldachin into a council-hall, and the adjacent chapel into offices and sitting-rooms The citizens anticipated a rich money harvest. The advent of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria was announced as certain.

But not even for the Council were the urban conditions improved. The local cleansing, although entrusted to the Gendarmerie, was deplorable; the dirt in the Trastevere equalled the worst quarters of old Naples; the quarters inhabited by workmen and country labourers were offensive, and the filth of the Ghetto beyond description. There were open cesspools in San Lorenzo in Lucina, Bufalo, and Santa Lucia del Gonfalone, and none knew when they would

be closed; the laws concerning scavengers were a dead-letter. Public conveyances were scarce, although cheap. For a two-horse carriage two *scudi* was paid for half a day, with the additional tip of one *papetto* for the coachman. Omnibuses continued to run from Piazza Venezia to San Paolo at a fixed rate of seven and a half *baiocchi* there and back; but as they only started when full, there could be no time-limit. The habits of the people remained unchanged; to-day was like yesterday, and to-morrow like to-day, especially in the hot season, from June to October. The Corso was deserted during the dog-days; palaces, whose owners were abroad or at their villas, were closed, also the larger hotels and the better-furnished apartments. Only between midday and one o'clock lay *employés* might be seen in the streets, carrying home fruit in baskets or handkerchiefs. These *employés* had no regular holiday, but there were many holidays all the year round. Neither did the Ministry leave. Cardinal Antonelli remained in Rome permanently, no matter what the season. Cardinals and prelates preferred to stay in their own apartments or visit their villas in Latium. Their holidays fell in October, when the Congregations were closed, and then cardinals and prelates, with their characteristic tall hats and still more characteristic ebony canes with silver knobs, might be met on the Lombard lakes or between Naples and Sorrento. None travelled in their three-cornered hats. The absence of the artists added to the deserted look of the city, for the

majority returned to their homes. Those who stayed frequented the bathing-cabins at Ripetta, or the humbler ones outside Porta del Popolo, where they made noisy parties and enjoyed the swimming in the Tiber. At both there was one common undressing-place, and that was upon the sands, ill-covered with pieces of matting. For equipment there was nothing but a chair and a rough towel. On summer evenings the middle class sat out at *cafés*, consuming a "half-ice," or patronised the lemonade-sellers, or they would climb up to Capo le Case to drink bad beer. Rome in summer was absolutely dead. Many professional men and prelates, following an old custom, muffled their door-bells, so as not to break upon the silence. The usual life was resumed in November, when the middle classes and ecclesiastics returned to their almost unvarying habit of rising early and dining between twelve and one. In the depth of winter *scaldini* were used; it is only lately that hot-water bottles have been adopted. Fireplaces and stoves were the luxury of a few of the upper class, and more especially of those houses that had foreign mistresses. Even to this day the houses of the middle classes are unprovided with means of heating.

Picturesque and traditional processions continued until 1870; the most splendid was that of Corpus Domini, with its following, including the Pope, bearing the Sacrament, under a great baldachin, surrounded by the Noble Guard and their captains in gala uniforms, and the standard-bearers uplifting the banner

of the Church. The last Corpus Domini procession took place June 16, 1870, and was the most magnificent and picturesque seen for many centuries, because of the number of bishops who had been convened to the Council. Issuing from the Sistine Chapel, and passing down the Scala Regia, through the Bronze Gates, it passed along the colonnade on that side, and crossing Piazza Rusticucci, which was decorated with flowers and characteristic hangings, it returned by way of the other colonnade, where the statue of Charlemagne stands. This march of seven hundred bishops, each in his special dress, which lasted more than two hours, was most interesting. The Diplomatic Corps witnessed it from its customary covered stand, where were also an Infante of Portugal and the Neapolitan Princes. It was the last procession and the last solemn Pontifical Mass said by Pius IX. in St. Peter's.

In this last year of his political power the Pope also took part in the procession of St. John, which fell on the Sunday after Corpus Domini. During this week all Rome might be said to be in procession. The most notorious was that of the "Bocaletti," so called because at every halting place the brothers, singing "*Ave Maria*," entered the nearest inn to drink a glass of wine. Others affirmed they were called "Bocaletti" because the confraternity was composed of potters who made earthenware vessels. (*Boccale*, a jug.)

The most curious procession was that of the

Madonna del Carmine in the Trastevere. It took place in July, and was peculiar because of the strong men who took part in it, clean shaven, wearing their hair in a sort of curl on the forehead. Starting from San Crisogono, it passed through Via del Moro, where ices were served at three and a half *baiocchi*, composed chiefly of yolk of egg. The arrival of these ices in this narrow street was always advertised by a display of lemon peel wreathed round the coffee stalls. A celebrated rag seller, nicknamed *Panunto*, contributed greatly to the success of this procession, which quite resembled those of the Middle Ages, and he, consequently, was very popular in the Trastevere. He was also custodian of the drains and gutters. Another character was *Frà Torso*, a greengrocer in Piazza Sant' Egidio, who, to celebrate the procession, surrounded himself with crackers and fireworks, roaring and jumping as he lighted them, as though bitten by a tarantula, the crowd meanwhile applauding loudly. In these processions children might often be seen dressed as St. Dominic, St. Louis, St. Anthony, and St. John the Baptist. It happened at the last procession that a big dog approached St. John, and, smelling the skin he was wearing, so frightened the little boy that his cries and the terror of his mother, who was following, caused much amusement. These processions were announced eight days beforehand to the sound of drums and of two criers, wearing pointed hats and thick woollen capes, which they had to wear even in summer. As the processions passed through

the streets of Trastevere, windows were hung with red damask, hired for the occasion from the Jews, who brought the material round upon a handcart, crying, "Window decoration!" The procession of St. Mark took a longer round, and was followed by two cars full of the hats of those taking part, which were often carried off for fun or by thieves, the owners rarely finding them again. Nothing of this kind occurred after 1870.

A really curious sight of former Rome, which survived for a while after 1870, was the wandering blind musicians, known by the name of *Fanesi*, because natives of Fano, or "*The Blind of Campo dei Fiori*," because they usually gave their concerts in that Piazza. When any passional crime took place they set it to music, with coloured illustrations. Others sang sentimental ditties to the accompaniment of harps. Campo dei Fiori, Biscione, Via del Paradiso, and Via dei Baullari were their chief haunts. After singing themselves hoarse for hours and hours, they asked the public, as their only reward, to buy a copy of the song for one *baiocco*. During Holy Week their songs became pathetic, with references to Christ's Passion and hits at Pilate and the Jews. The week preceding Christmas also had its special music.

Where the fountain now stands in Campo dei Fiori, stood a rude hut belonging to Sister Virginia, a past-mistress in the art of frying. Near by sparkled a cup-shaped fountain, called *La Terrina*, below the level of

the street. It was erected by Gregory XIII., restored by Gregory XV., and bore these words:

"Ama Iddio e non Fallire.
Fa del Bene e Lassa Dire.
MDCXXII."[1]

Near the fountain another famous vendor had her stall—Sora Tuta, who in winter boiled Brussels sprouts and chestnuts, and in summer served lemonade, sheltered under a large white oil-cloth umbrella. Organ-grinders with dancing marionettes swarmed through the city. In all this there was a certain rural simplicity. In 1867, however, the police thought that it covered a seditious movement, and, scenting a political correspondence in the innocent leaflets distributed by the unfortunate performers, banished them and confiscated their organs. The same fate befel the well-known maker of wafer biscuits of Piazza S. Eustachio, inside whose basket, underneath a piece of green baize, the police discovered some clandestine leaflets; but the man, vowing by all the saints that he had nothing to do with politics, got off with a reprimand.

Crossing the Tiber by Ponte Sisto, and threading the maze of sunless alleys and lanes lying between Piazza S. Maria in Trastevere and Via della Lungaretta, a vast open space covered with vegetable gardens belonging to the Spanish Order of Santi Quaranti,

[1] "Love God and don't deceive.
Do good and let them talk.
MDCXXII."

was reached. Upon this space Pius IX. built the great tobacco factory. This vast undertaking was one of the most beneficial of Pius IX.'s Pontificate. Very justly, the Piazza where the factory stands was named Piazza Mastai. Early in October, 1869, Pius IX. visited the factory for the first time. He was received in the large hall on the first floor. The Pope was struck by the size of the building, but noticed the disproportion between it and the entrance door, which was small, saying, jokingly, "Now that we have come in by the window, show us the door out."

The social life continued the same with the same distance between classes. Nothing was ever purposely abolished; everything decayed through decrepitude. Even to-day are seen hanging in Roman Sacristies scales of charges headed "Charges for Parochial Acts: Certificates for Princes, *lire* 5.50; for prelates and nobles, 2.75; for persons of the middle class, 1.50; all others, 50 cents.," an example of the proportion of taxation, which was perhaps not unjust. Old traditions still linger in smaller parishes, especially with regard to the game of *lotto*. This *lotto* so exactly suited the character of the people that, with regard to it, Rome could boast, after Naples, of being the city most attached to this form of gambling. And this is easily explained when it is realised that Rome, after Naples, was the poorest city in Italy and the most credulous, and perhaps also the most convinced that the result of the game was not chance, but a cabal, of which the Capuchins and

Franciscans, preferably, held the keys. People had more faith in them than in the prodigies, sorcerers, or quacks known in Naples as "*assistiti*." The gambling fever chiefly attacked the lower classes, the middle classes indulged in moderation; the nobility were not entirely immune, and even the lower clergy played. For a time the numbers were drawn in the Loggia of Montecitorio, then at Palazzo Madama, the seat of the Ministry of Finance, and ultimately at the palace called "the Horseshoe," at Ripetta. The government did not always meet its engagements, for, when it perceived that bets were accumulating upon a certain combination, for fear of losing several millions, they annulled the stakes and repaid the money.

The stories of friars obliged to furnish a lucky number would form an amusing book. These friars, visiting families to beg, bringing with them fresh salad and miraculous pictures, were gladly welcomed. Forced to reveal the numbers that would emerge at the next extraction, they gave these either explicitly or enigmatically, by means of images, sentences with double meanings, or parables of a grotesque ingenuity absolutely insolvable. And though it was absolutely certain that only five numbers out of the ninety could be drawn, the eighty-six which remained in the urn did not destroy their credit; on the contrary, the five extracted but increased it. The drawing was made by an orphan, who was not blindfolded as they are now, dressed in white. The urn was of silver, not of

glass, and the number extracted was announced by a herald blowing a trumpet, and was greeted with whistles and cutting remarks. Nor are these customs entirely extinct. If to-day the people do not believe in magicians and witches, belief in monks, hunchbacks, and portents still prevail; if cloaked Monsignori no longer take part in the extraction and this is no longer a solemn function, the *lotto* continues to be the curse of the Roman populace.

The judicial administration remained unchanged to the last. Consequent on the risings of 1867, a statutory decree was promulgated by which such cases as came under the heading of political or analogous causes were submitted to a Council of War. Thus was accentuated the difference between political and non-political trials, a notable difference in substance and form. In political trials, for instance, the accused was personally cross-examined; but when his interrogation was ended he returned to prison, and the case proceeded without him. He was tried by six judges, common criminals by four, which made it easier for the latter rather than the former to obtain a unanimity of votes, and, in consequence, liberty. Confiscation was only prescribed in cases of penal sentences and for some political crimes. A very serious difference was the following. In penal trials for certain crimes and for grave offences there were two degrees of jurisdiction. When these had been complied with there remained the remedy of revision, the object of which was to obtain the annulment of the sentence on the pretext

that the procedure had been incorrect, that there had been a miscarriage of justice, or an excess of power. If the sentence proved favourable to the plaintiff the tribunal annulling it decided the case upon its merits. For minor crimes there was only one degree of jurisdiction, but there always remained the possibility of revision by the means indicated. For the political criminal, however, once condemned, the benefit of appeal or remedy by revision did not exist.

When, in 1870, Rome was united to Italy, it resembled no other city, for its special character of universality had been bequeathed it by the course of its history. The Empire and the Church, with their conquests of territories and consciences, had extended its geographical horizons and given Rome a strength of pride condensed in the saying: "Rome could do without the world, but the world could not do without Rome." Religious faith, history, and archæology were each a great stimulus for a visit to the Urbs, to study at the fountain-head its remote and mediæval past, of which the city itself in many ways was the living representative, and to admire its mighty ruins; all these things the Romans, in their quiet scepticism, laughed at, as they laughed when foreigners and, above all, the English drank the water of the Fontana Trevi, breaking their glasses afterwards. They laughed yet more at another custom, that of hiding a coin in St. Peter's, generally behind the statues or under the confessionals, in the hope of finding it a year later never remembering that the

people attached to St. Peter's dust these places every day.

New Italy violently disorganised this world so many ages old. The new-comers resembled a troop of restless, mischievous boys who, taking possession of an old house, inhabited by aged persons, turn it upside down to the great discomfort of the inhabitants. So it seemed during the first years, in which the chasm between the inhabitants and the new-comers was strongly marked, for the latter found in the life of the city none of the comforts offered either by Florence or Turin. Rome, in this respect, was not prepared to be the capital of Italy, and during the first years there was much discussion as to the advisability of the step. The social economy of the city was not altered gradually, but the overturn was sudden and began with the highest ranks; the fortunes of princely houses and of well-established farmers collapsed, some because their great patrimonies rested upon old and rotten mortgages, others through the new laws which were put into effect, without much discretion and without allowing for exceptions.

The changed times from 1859 had, on the contrary, brought new life instead of ruin to the other regions of the old Papal States. Romagna and the Marches became more productive; agriculture improved, cattle increased, fairs were better frequented, and the markets which supplied Rome became richer. United with the world, they felt the good effects also from an industrial point of view.

Deserted Ferrara felt the stirrings of new life. Even Ravenna witnessed an industrial revival, such as, a few years previously, would have seemed impossible, for the land, thanks to the praiseworthy initiative of some rich proprietors, was better cultivated and gave better returns. The kingdom of Italy also redeemed the Lower Romagna, and constructed new railways and roads, almost remodelling the economical status *ex novo*. Between the years 1859 and 1870 the artificial ties which linked these provinces to Rome were broken. It seemed, indeed, as though they had never existed. No government left less regret behind it—less, even, than the rule of the Bourbons left in the ancient kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE first idea of convening an Ecumenical Council in Rome to elevate the temporal power into a dogma, originated in the celebration of the third centenary of the Council of Trent, which took place in that city in December, 1863, and was attended by a number of Austrian and Hungarian prelates. A new Council, to be held in the chief Christian temple, to proclaim, as dogma, the temporal power was regarded by the most bigoted Ultramontanes as likely to carry great political weight. Never had European conditions been more favourable. Austria and Spain had not recognised the new kingdom of Italy; and France, with her army, guaranteed to the Pope the remnant of temporal power. It was also proposed that the heads of the Catholic States, especially the Emperor Francis Joseph and Queen Isabella, should assist at the promulgation of the new dogma.

The pugnacious section of the Legitimist world favoured the idea, but Rome did not decide quickly. The Vatican has always been suspicious and diffident of sentimental emotions, for it was always a government

which weighed the *pros* and *cons* of every religious and moral problem according to the convenience of the moment. Thus several years passed, in whose course European political conditions changed substantially. First, the September Convention of 1864; then the war of 1866, that by depriving Austria of Venetia, caused her to recognise the kingdom of Italy, and owing to her defeat by Prussia, detached her from the Germanic Confederation. After Sadowa Catholic France saw her prestige diminish in the face of Protestant Germany, and Isabella was driven from the Spanish throne. The *Civiltà Cattolica* suggested that the Papal Infallibility should be substituted for the dogma of temporal power, and by the allocution *Pericunda* the Council was proclaimed, and its opening fixed for December 8, 1869. Theology was substituted for politics, the definitions of a doctrine, for political protests, which might have produced dissensions and disputes on the part of the bishops disinclined to submit to the excessive pretensions of the ultra-intransigents. There was an indefinite atmosphere about the idea of Infallibility, there was no possibility of knowing where it would lead. This alarmed the governments, and opened up difficult doctrinal, metaphysical, and traditional questions. It was foreseen that the discussions would not be free, because Pius IX. placed himself at the head of the Infallibilist party and looked on all opponents as heretics or personal enemies.

Five Congregations were appointed to deal with

all preliminary business, the presidency consisted of cardinals, with De Angelis at their head. The meeting of the Council was preceded by the inauguration of its commemorative monument upon the Janiculum, erected in front of the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio. It had been designed by the architect Vespignani, and was to consist of a column of *verde antico*, surmounted by a bronze statue of St. Peter. The foundation stone was laid on October 14, 1869. A pavilion of silk and muslin was erected for the purpose, bearing many inscriptions, of which one ran thus :

" Pie · IX · Te · Deus · Faveat · Tueatur · Sospitet."

Although the day was fine, perhaps because the Pope was not present, there were few spectators. Much fun was made of this unfortunate monument, which never rose above ground. It seemed, indeed, tempting fortune to erect a commemorative monument to an event which had not yet taken place.

The dogma proclaimed, the Council was prorogued, and during the first years when Rome was the capital, Pius IX. never proposed to reopen it. One of Leo XIII.'s first acts was to demolish the temporary buildings. No further mention was made of the monument. The fine column was transported to the Vatican and erected in the courtyard of the Pigna. On the heights of the Janiculum now stands the great monument to modern Italy, Garibaldi, watching over Rome, in the dignified calm of one resting after many storms, and seeming to repeat

the words of the Roman standard-bearer: "*Hic manebimus optime!*"

The Council was opened, as proposed, on December 8, 1869, fifteen years after the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and five years after that of the Syllabus. A more splendid ceremony had not been witnessed during Pius IX.'s long reign. The Pope, in his fine voice, intoned the "*Veni Creator.*" It was Wednesday, and pouring with rain. The Empress Elizabeth of Austria, the beautiful and nervous Olga of Würtemberg, the ex-King Francis II. and his brothers, besides the family of Lorraine and numberless foreigners, took part in the great function. The social life of Rome was revived. The Embassies gave receptions in honour of their respective cardinals and bishops; Cardinal Antonelli received them at eight in the morning, and invited them to dinner in turn; the bishops of the old kingdom of Naples crowded the Palazzo Farnese. The Queen of Würtemberg, although travelling *incognita*, held receptions at the Hôtel Costanzi. Among notable persons were seen Cesare Cantù, Gregorovius, Cartwright, Liszt, and Lord Acton, considered the most cultured man of his day and the first English Catholic to be nominated Professor of History at the University of Cambridge. The most determined adversaries of the Infallibility doctrine assembled at his house. An intimate friend of Gladstone and Doellinger, he corresponded with them, keeping them informed of all that was happening. He was also

intimate with Cardinal Newman. Friendly to Italy he had visited it for the first time with Gladstone when they halted at Montecassino, both being admirers of Father Tosti. It was while the Council was sitting that Lord Acton wrote the best essays that dealt with this theme, with the Infallibility of the Pope, Napoleon III., and the Roman question.

It was at first forbidden to members of the Council to leave Rome, but later on their absence was disregarded. It was then that for the last time the two aristocracies intermingled. Some of the richer bishops had hired large apartments, the most sumptuous was that of Monsignor Darboy, Senator of the Empire, where he received those who were anti-Infallibilists like himself. Some of the episcopate lodged in government buildings. Curious receptions were held in the episcopal dwellings and also in the Ecclesiastical Academy, where the most pugnacious bishops lodged.

All the intellectual world of Europe and America were occupied with this theme. New polemical pamphlets appeared daily, especially in France and Germany, and the Council was the leading subject in all magazines and newspapers. Diplomatic labours increased in consequence of the Bavarian suggestion, communicated by Prince Hohenlohe, proposing that the Powers be represented at the Council by trustworthy delegates. Prussia was well inclined to this Bavarian suggestion, and her representative, Arnim, was very active in those days. France continued to hesitate;

the French government was not adverse to being represented at the Council, but the plan did not appear feasible. A *memorandum* was drawn up and sent to the Pope, but he refused to present it to the Fathers. Austria and Spain neither agreed nor refused to fall in with the Bavarian proposal, maintaining a strict reserve, owing to the attitude assumed by their bishops, who in general favoured Infallibility. In short, the action of both the Catholic and Protestant Powers, although alarmed at the dogma, was weak and contradictory. They neither dared to oppose it openly nor to take common action.

A current favourable to Infallibility had been noticeable from the first, and it grew in strength as the number of the anti-Infallibilists were seen to decrease in pugnacity and power. Furthermore, the zealots, guided by the Jesuits, promoted the famous note to Pius IX., praying him to proclaim the Infallibility, a petition that obtained over five hundred signatures. More Papal than the Pope, they renounced their right to discuss, which they had been called on to exercise. Under such circumstances, the governments exposed themselves to the risk of failure. Many discussions concerning this question had agitated the French Chamber, and necessarily the liberal view, that it was useless to interfere, triumphed. Nor could the governments oppose this liberal view, notwithstanding the insistence of the moderate Catholics, who invoked intervention.

For Italy the Infallibility, and yet more, the

definition of the temporal dogma, constituted a double political danger, but the Italian government could take no action to obstruct it. It was needful for them to demonstrate that they interpreted liberty in its widest sense, especially in respect to the Church and its head. It would do nothing which might be interpreted as impeding the freedom of the bishops to go to Rome. They were allowed full liberty to take part in the Council and to vote according to their consciences. Such were the principles of the minority. But this did not exclude the danger that the Council, led by the most fanatical, might be converted into a crusade of protestation against Italy, and that an assembly, intended to work upon certain emotions, might arrive at factious conclusions. It was needful to try to influence secretly the more moderate of the Italian episcopate, a movement directed towards persuading the Fathers to a *ne quid nimis* beyond the Infallibility. The government did not ignore that the proposal of the more violent was to reach, by this means, the dogma of temporal power; or, at least, a vote in this sense, which, without being definitely dogmatical, might be employed to rekindle that religious struggle which, for some years, seemed ended or, at least, in abeyance.

The King, Visconti-Venosta and Lanza, all followed the labours of the Council with keen interest.

No resistance was to be expected from the majority of the Italian episcopate, whose clergy were all ranged on the fanatical side, political pressure being put on

them to take a strong stand in the name of the mediæval against the modern State. Italian bishops were, perhaps, the most down-trodden in Rome as well as the most discontented on account of the losses entailed by the revolution. Nevertheless, there was no lack of moderate men, but they were afraid of their own shadows.

In March, calling himself Giuseppe Conti, merchant, Giuseppe Colucci, prefect of Caserta, came to Rome. He had been charged by Lanza to make known to the southern bishops by means of the Benedictines of Montecassino, that the government of Victor Emmanuel would never tolerate that the Council should define as dogma the temporal power.

Lanza and Visconti-Venosta, with the King's approval, had also sent Deputy Berti to Rome to work upon the Piedmontese bishops for the same object, and also to see if it were not possible to sow in that Council the first seeds of an agreement between the Pontiff and Italy, in order to render the independence of the Church compatible with Italian unity.

Berti, because of his reserved character and the esteem he enjoyed with the Piedmontese episcopate, seemed the right man to accomplish such a task. In a long letter, dated February 1, written to him by Lanza, occurs the following noteworthy passage:

"Should the Infallibility of the Pontiff be proclaimed, declarations upon points of faith and upon any argument whatever would be pronounced by one who, being at the same time head of the Church and

temporal Prince, might make his decisions serve both interests, and create difficulties between Church and State. The kingdom of Italy would certainly be the first to feel the results of this new power bestowed on the Pope. It would not be surprising if, when proclaiming this new dogma, the necessity for the temporal power should be insisted on as an indispensable condition for securing the exercise of this new attribute, and thus bring to a head the antagonism between Italy and the Papacy, between the clergy and the Italians. In going to Rome, you could be of use by entering into relations with those bishops whom you esteem the most adapted by their influence and their convictions to promote this crusade against the exorbitant pretensions of the Jesuit party and the ultra-Catholics."

Berti told his friends that he had come to Rome to seek for certain documents concerning Galileo, Copernicus, Bruno, and Campanella. He only spoke to a few bishops, saw some professors, ransacked the archives with much care, and did not disguise in his letters the difficulties of the situation and his doubts of overcoming them.

Colucci was in the prime of life, and was an insinuating and effective talker. He took few precautions, although he travelled under an assumed name; he spoke to some bishops of his acquaintance, and found them all timid of using their influence as the government desired, for they were convinced of the impossibility of going against the current. Some

held out hopes that if the discussions upon the Infallibility were prolonged there would be no time left to discuss the temporal power. Colucci left Rome persuaded that if the war had not scattered the bishops they would have voted the other dogma. Berti and Colucci knew nothing of each other during their stay in Rome. Colucci corresponded with Lanza and Berti with Visconti, and the information received from both was identical in substance.

Whether a mission was given to him or not, it is certain that Giuseppe Massari came to Rome on July 4. Massari was Visconti's friend, and it was only natural that he should ask him to send him news of the Council and of the intrigues of the intransigents. Massari had many relations with the diplomatic world and the foreign bishops. A rumour had sprung up during that month that Pius IX. was seriously ill, and consequently, in view of his death, the old project was resuscitated of giving a juridical foundation, on the basis of historical right, to an occupation of Rome by Italy.

It must be added that there was no truth in this rumour ; the Pope had never been in better health than during those months of struggle for the Infallibility.

Pius IX. desired the Infallibility ; he declared he foresaw it ; and he himself, as had been anticipated, led the Infallibilist party, taking part in all that ambiguous and almost sectarian work of influences, intrigues, and even intimidations, to disarm the enemy and assure a unanimous victory. This was what he

desired and for which he worked. Pius IX. deluded himself most extraordinarily concerning the effects of the new dogma. He believed that by its means he could more easily subdue the revolution and secure the temporal dogma. He had not foreseen the opposition of the German and French, and, still less, of the Slav bishops, who caused the matter to drag. The discussions in the Congregations were very animated, but freer and less tumultuous than some of the plenary sittings. It suffices to recall the memorable plenary sitting of March 22, when the anti-Infallibilist, Cardinal Schwarzenberg, maintained that moral unanimity in dogmatic matters must be placed against the right of the majority. The intransigents cried, "*Sileat, sileat!*" and the uproar was getting beyond control when Monsignor Strossmayer rose to support the thesis, which aimed indirectly at getting rid of the Infallibility. He spoke freely, and in the heat of argument went so far as to say that some of the best confutations of the errors in the proposed scheme of the new dogma were written by Protestants, and he cited Leibnitz and Guizot. He had reason to repent his temerity. The assembly was transformed into a howling, menacing mob. The President interrupted: "*Hic non est locus laudandi protestantes*," and a group of Spanish bishops, screaming and shaking their fists, cried: "*Descendat ad ambone, descendat hæreticus! Damnamus eum! eum damnamus!*" which excited the bishops of the majority to still louder roars of "*Omnes illum damnamus! descendat! descendat!*"

Strossmayer did not lose his head, but, unable to proceed, he left the tribune crying three times, "*Protestor! Protestor! Protestor!*" The tumult was such that the police guarding the Basilica proposed to force the doors of the hall.

The Archbishop of Bologna was also among the anti-Infallibilists. After one of his speeches Pius IX. called him to audience and addressed him as follows: "Well, Cardinal, you have made an unworthy and heretical speech; you desire to return to Bologna, and doubtless you will be much esteemed by the Italian Revolutionists, but you will not return without having subscribed first to a new profession of faith." When the bishop objected that the Pope had been ill-informed, and that what he propounded was according to Scripture, the teaching of the Church, and traditions, Pius IX. angrily interrupted him with, "I am tradition!"

Impossible to enumerate all the contradictions, apprehensions, and sophistries. It was in reality a Parliamentary assembly sovereign in appearance only, excited and weary. Terror reigned. The bishops contrary to Infallibility were unpopular, and avoided as though plague-struck. Never had the Congregation of the Index been so severe as during these months until September, 1870, making almost a holocaust of prohibited books.

During the last days it seemed as if, after long alternations between hope and fear, unanimity would result—thanks to the withdrawal from the definition

of the words which had been most actively resisted by the opposition—that is, that the Pontifical definitions of faith and custom were immutable, "*ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ.*"

Indeed, the Bull was given to the newspapers without these words. But the Pope, seeing that even by the suppression of "*ex sese*" unanimity could not be obtained, ordered the words to be reinstated. All were anxious to bring the affair to an end. Many anti-Infallibilist bishops, convinced that nothing more could be done, and certainly showing no great courage, preferred to leave. It must be added that the expense incurred by the Vatican for the maintenance of so many persons began to weigh heavily upon the Pontifical finances. More than three hundred bishops stayed with the Pope, and each bishop had one or two secretaries. Pius IX., talking one day with one of his intimates, remarked, "If these bishops do not make haste we shall be obliged to feed them on potatoes."

Pius IX., although the anti-Infallibilists lost ground daily, was angered against them. The defections might be counted by the dozen, and opportunism asserted itself under many pretexts. Pius IX., by his impulsive temperament, his impatience of opposition, as well as by the constant suggestions of intransigents and sycophants, fell under the influence of all who wanted to stand well with him. He repeated that every Council consisted of three periods: the first was of the devil, who tried to embroil; the second of men, who tried to confound; and the third of the

Holy Spirit, who enlightened, purified, and co-ordinated. But, alluding to the expenses incurred by the bishops' visit, he said, "While they dispute about the Infallibility the business is prolonged, and when I shall be declared Infallible I shall be the one to have failed" (*sarò poi il vero fallito*).

No amusements were offered to the bishops. They might not go to the theatre. There were the fireworks, which entertained the foreign bishops, and which were lighted at Easter and St. Peter's Day on the Pincio. The only diversion was the International Art Exhibition, limited to objects of Catholic worship. The Pope surveyed it with scant interest, he praised Vespignani for its get-up, lingered in the French Art Section and then in the Roman, where Visconti held a discourse, allowed those present to kiss his foot, and left somewhat dissatisfied. He was in the worst of tempers, threatening personally to chastise one of the Palatine Guards who was unable to restrain the crowd. It was also said that he called Vespignani a bore for wishing him to observe some of the exhibits.

The spectacle furnished by the anti-Infallibilists was pitiable. Though this assembly was not elective and composed of conscientious and scrupulous men of mature age—natives of all countries, subjects of Emperors, Kings, and Republics—nevertheless, it furnished an example of what Parliamentary assemblies may become in the matter of independence when a supreme will imposes itself unscrupulously. All opposition, determined and earnest though it was,

and, at first, even defiant, vanished ignominiously. On the eve of the ballot, fifty-five bishops sent the Pope a humble letter, excusing themselves for not taking part in the plenary sitting of July 18 for the definition; and, while once more declaring themselves opposed to Infallibility, said, perhaps ironically, "While confirming these views by our present letter, we are nevertheless resolved not to appear at the public session of July 18, for the filial piety and respect which our deputation exhibited yesterday at the feet of Your Holiness will not permit us, in a question which touches Your Holiness so closely as to be almost personal, to say publicly in the presence of our Father, '*Non placet.*'"

In the solemn ballot, five hundred and thirty-three voted in favour, about two hundred abstained, and the anti-Infallibilists were reduced to two!

The most extraordinary arguments were employed in support of Infallibility! For example, the Bishop of Poitiers, in a report presented to the Conciliary Commission *de fide*, said that, since St. Peter was crucified head downward, thus causing the whole weight of his body to fall upon his head, it proved that the Pope was the foundation of the Church and therefore Infallible. Immense was the pressure brought to obtain a unanimous vote. Unanimity was desired, although there was no doubt as to the majority. All the environment pointed that way. The ecclesiastical Congregations, the Court, the convents, and especially the women, were full of deference only for those

bishops who favoured Infallibility. Private interests and that species of hierarchical adulation so profound and invincible in ecclesiastical society ended by gaining the day. If the Pope desired Infallibility why not grant it ? Infallibility resuscitated the Syllabus accepted by the Episcopate six years previously without opposition.

With the promulgation of this dogma, the Church was identified more closely with the Pope. The *ex sese* represented the climax of the Ultramontane victories. Yet Pius IX., seven days after the promulgation, wrote to his nephew Luigi in this melancholy strain: "The things of this world grow ever more disturbed. God alone can extract from this chaos a new order of things." So much for his belief in Infallibility.

No Council was ever poorer in practical and positive results; in none did political sentiments predominate more completely over religious interests; in none, perhaps, had the Pope taken so direct a part in favour of a thesis which interested him personally.

This Council formed the theme of many books and pamphlets. Among them was an anonymous leaflet which appeared in Florence in September, 1870. It was written in French verse and not wanting in wit, entitled, "Le Concile." In three articles the poet attributed the following decrees to God Almighty:

"Article I.

Le pouvoir temporel du pape est aboli,
Et ce pouvoir jamais ne sera rétabli.

ARTICLE II.

Rome, dès aujourd'hui, n'est plus ville papale;
De ma chère Italie elle est la capitale.

ARTICLE III.

Je délègue le Roi Victor-Emmanuel
Pour l'exécution de ce décret formel."

The Eternal Father concluding:

"Je veux qu'un nouveau règne au pape se prépare;
Qu'en perdant sa couronne il conserve sa tiare.
Si son sceptre est brisé, s'il n'a plus de sujets,
Les fidèles seront plus nombreux que jamais;
L'Eglise en son giron embrassera le monde,
Et la religion renaîtra plus féconde.
Quant aux deux souverains dans Rome réunis,
J'espère qu'ils pourront y vivre en bons amis.
Le Pape, terminant une ancienne querelle,
Au Roi tendra bientôt une main fraternelle,
En disant: Dieu le veut, Rome se donne à vous;
Mais l'Eglise est à moi. Mon frère, embrassons-nous."

In no way was Italy disturbed by these occurrences in Rome. Great events were maturing. The departure of the bishops opposed to Infallibility begun before the promulgation, became general a few days after. They were anxious to get home, especially the French and Germans. Such a crowd left on the evening of July 18 that it was found necessary to add other carriages to the trains. All were desirous to get back to their dioceses after so long an absence. For three days before war had been declared between France and Germany.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ON THE EVE

THE alliance, proposed two years before 1870, between France, Italy, and Austria, was never concluded, because Napoleon III., although a benefactor to the Italian cause, and, in a sense, one of its chief promoters, would never consent to the occupation of Rome by Italy. He would not even consent to it in the form of a non-intervention, although, if they returned to the September Convention France, as in 1866, might have retired her troops from the Papal States. The truth was Napoleon desired an alliance with Italy, but would not accept the one inexorable condition for obtaining it. He had been impressed by the anger of the Italians after Mentana, and, aware of the plot-weaving in Berlin, desired to deprive Prussia of an ally in case of war with France. He wished Austria to avenge Sadowa, either by taking part in a military action, or by preventing South Germany from making common cause with Prussia. Although nothing pointed to the imminence of war, Napoleon was not easy, and notwithstanding that he appeared confident of concluding the two alliances according to his wishes, especially as

Austria's military part had been already defined, by some fatality it was not concluded. The motive power on each side may have been rooted in egoism. If he could ensure, through Austrian aid, the neutrality of the South German States in a war against Prussia, he considered himself sure of defeating the Prussian army, and thus would remain arbiter of the European situation. But when the war suddenly broke out, before anything was concluded, the first unexpected French defeats overthrew all previsions, and raised difficulties in Austria and Italy which prevented them from making common cause with France. Wörth and Sedan followed each other too closely.

The Roman question was the stone tied to Napoleon's feet—that dragged him into the abyss. He never forgot, even in August, 1870, a month before Sedan, that he was sovereign of a Catholic country, that he had been made Emperor, and was supported by the votes of the Conservatives and the influence of the clergy; and that it was his supreme duty not to abandon the Pontiff. He cherished the conviction that Rome, owing to her history and her moral and political conditions, would never rise against the Pope, that any revolutionary movements were impotent; and, therefore, by guaranteeing Rome to the Pope, he was persuaded that he was at the same time guaranteeing the independence of the Romans. He also cherished a chivalrous sentiment towards Pius IX. very different from that which Pius bore towards him. If the Pope, in his

conversations with Ambassadors and in his official speeches, overflowed with goodwill towards the Emperor of the French, in reality he never trusted him, and it almost seemed as if he shared the prejudices of the more vulgar clerical world, who had baptised Napoleon "*the Devil's son.*"

After the declaration of war, the Emperor, with the object of facilitating the preliminaries for an alliance and also in the interests of France, allowed himself to be persuaded to act upon the September Convention, and recalled the troops from Civita Vecchia. Nevertheless, he required a written promise from Victor Emmanuel, besides the formal assurance of the Ministry, that the Convention would be observed, and obstinately refused to hold out hope of more. When recalling his troops, he could not foresee the military catastrophe of September 2. The assurance had been given according to his desire, for the Italian government regarded it as a real benefit to Italy that the last of the strangers should depart.

The phrase, attributed later to the Empress, "Better the Prussians in Paris than the Piedmontese in Rome," was conceived in the exaggerated spirit that dominated the politicians who surrounded the Emperor and urged him by many pretexts into a senseless and needless war when he was ill and unwilling and unprepared, and all with an unprecedented haste, which placed France in the wrong before all the world. But even after the decisive moment when war had been declared, Napoleon remained consistent

in regard to to the Roman question. "I do not yield in the matter of Rome," he telegraphed from Metz, on August 3.

The last of the French troops were embarked at Civita Vecchia on August 5. The Empress Eugènie, acting as regent, sent the man-of-war *Orènoque* to Civita Vecchia to defend the Pope, but this did not suffice to stifle the fears of the Pontifical government, which, as the French defeats followed one upon the other, beheld a terrible storm gathering over its head. It could not count upon the victorious nation, although her relations with Rome were cordial.

On August 10 Cardinal Antonelli sent for Rivalta and inquired of him if, in the case of a probable invasion by the revolutionary insurgents, it would be wiser to station the whole army at the frontier or to concentrate it in Rome, to attempt a last defence. Rivalta replied that both plans were defective. To send the troops to the frontier would be to provoke an insurrection in Rome and give the Italian government an excuse for intervention under the plea of re-establishing order. To concentrate the troops in Rome would be to invite invasion, for the towns, deprived of their garrisons, would rise and furnish a pretext for intervention. The best advice, concluded Rivalta, was to defend both the frontier and Rome, instructing the various garrisons, to yield only when resistance was obviously impossible, and to retire in order upon Rome. Antonelli was convinced.

Twenty-seven days elapsed between the departure

of the French from the Pontifical States and the battle of Sedan. The sensation created in Rome by the catastrophe of September 2 was tremendous. The powerful Emperor vanquished and a prisoner! A mighty Catholic Empire to fall before a Protestant nation! For twenty years Napoleon III. had been the true sovereign of Rome, where he had many friends and relations who remembered him as a student and a fugitive, and whom at the climax of his power he had never forgotten. In Rome he had been with equal intensity loved and hated, feared, and regarded as a sphinx. Without him the temporal power would never have been reconstituted, nor, being reconstituted, would have endured. Yet notwithstanding this, the impression produced upon the clerical world was not one of regret, sentiments of joy were even openly manifested, and the joke attributed to Pius IX., that France had lost her teeth (*ses dents*) was spread abroad.

The Holy See was now without defenders. It was felt and feared that the September Convention would not this time be destroyed by revolutionist bands and by Garibaldi, but by the Italian army and government. The Pontifical army, 13,157 strong, composed of the most varied nationalities and containing 1,200 horse, could offer little resistance.

On September 8 Count Ponza di San Martino arrived in Rome as bearer of the noted letter from the King to Pius IX. He sent an official communication to Cardinal Antonelli announcing his arrival and

explaining his mission. The answer came immediately. It was courteous in form, and made an appointment with the Count for the same evening. It also informed him that instructions had been issued that he should be allowed to correspond freely with his government by means of telegrams in cipher. Antonelli received him politely and told him he had obtained the Pope's orders for an audience on the morning of the 10th. He declared his conviction that the Pope would never invite the Italians to occupy Rome, the more so that the population was quiet, the troops numerous, disciplined, and faithful, and the Pontiff enjoying ample liberty.

The Pope's reception of San Martino was unfriendly. Pius IX. allowed violent outbursts to escape him. Throwing the King's letter upon a table, he exclaimed, "Fine loyalty! You are all a set of vipers, of whited sepulchres, and wanting in faith." He was perhaps alluding to other letters received from the King. After, growing calmer, he exclaimed: "I am no prophet, nor son of a prophet, but I tell you, you will never enter Rome!" San Martino was so mortified that he left the next day.

It was on September 10 that Pius IX. left the Vatican for the last time as a sovereign, in order to inaugurate the Acque Marcia. Few persons had been invited to the ceremony, but the streets were crowded, and as Pius IX. passed cheers were raised of "*Viva Pius IX!* King, King, King!" Flowers were thrown, and hands clapped; Pius IX. appeared

in good spirits, drank a cup of the water, and praised its purity and freshness.

The next day, the Pope replied to the King in the following haughty terms:

"SIRE,—Count Ponza di San Martino has delivered to me a letter which Your Majesty was pleased to send me; but it is unworthy of an affectionate son who boasts of professing the Catholic faith and glories in his kingly loyalty. I will not enter into the particulars of the letter to avoid renewing the pain which its first perusal occasioned me. I bless God, Who has suffered that Your Majesty should fill the last years of my life with bitterness. For the rest I cannot admit the requests contained in your letter nor give my adhesion to the principles propounded therein. I once more turn to God and place my cause, which is His, in His Hands. I pray Him to grant to Your Majesty abundant grace to preserve you from every peril and to render you a participant in the mercies of which you have such need.

"From the Vatican, September 11, 1870.

(Signed) "PIUS P.P. IX."

Since the end of the previous November preparations had been made for a defence. Piazza Colonna, considered the centre of the town, was to become a small entrenched camp. These preparations were deemed advisable for fear of an insurrection. But when it was no longer doubtful that the Italian government intended to march upon Rome and

invest it at various points, they had to be greatly modified. Further modifications were imperative when the intentions of the assailing army were known, which were to open the way between Porta Salaria and Porta Pia with the main body of the forces under cover of a feigned attack upon Porta S. Giovanni and San Pancrazio. Kanzler ordered all the gates to be barricaded, more especially Porta Pia and Porta San Pancrazio and effected other works of defence. Places of observation were established upon the walls and the cupola of St. Peter's, communicating by telegraph with the Ministry of War.

On the 11th notice arrived that the Italian army had crossed the frontier, and a state of siege was at once proclaimed. In the evening, after *Ave Maria*, the city became yet more gloomy, only patrols of police and soldiers were seen. The Pope ordered a three days' intercession before the image of the Madonna della Colonna in the Basilica of St. Peter. His conviction that the Italians would not dare attack Rome, or daring, that Divine help would not fail the Pontiff, seems almost inconceivable. His impulsive character had grown calmer. The last Pontifical Mass at which he assisted was that for the Birth of the Virgin on September 8, in S. Maria del Popolo. On the morning of the 10th he visited the Aracœli to adore the miraculous image.

While these events occurred in Rome public excitement in Florence, after the French defeats, was so great as to cause alarm for public order. What

greatly added to the excitement were the circumstances that Mazzini was a prisoner at Gaeta, Garibaldi under surveillance at Caprera, and the Ministry more than ever determined to maintain public order and to prevent an unauthorised initiative in the Roman question.

Meanwhile the Chamber was closed, the deputies of the Left were propagating the Roman agitation all over Italy, threatening a revolutionary appeal to the country and their resignation *en masse*, and the Roman refugees declared themselves ready to attempt any hazardous enterprise.

On August 29 Visconti-Venosta sent a circular to the Italian agents abroad, in which he declared it to be the constant aim of the Italian government to reassure the Catholic world concerning the guarantees, which it, more than any other State, could furnish to the Holy See. The September Convention was not the solution of the Roman question, but a means of assisting towards the solution without disturbing consciences and without damaging the legitimate interests of the country. The Roman Court had assumed the attitude of an enemy established in the centre of the peninsula, which reckoned upon interventions to restore *statu quo ante*. The circular concluded thus: "The moment has come when we cannot recede before a problem connected with the destiny of a people and the greatness of the Catholic Church." It was an able preparation for all that was to take place within a few days.

The Italian Ministry realised all the gravity of the situation. Its doubts and hesitations were the effect not of weakness or scant patriotism, but of deliberation, excessive, it may be, but not blameworthy. It was a moment of exceptional responsibility, which the government assumed before the world and history, and the future of Italy was at stake. The cannon had not yet dictated the last word.

The news of Sedan reached Florence on September 3, but that of the revolution in Paris, although expected, had not yet come. Until this came it was impossible for Italy with decency to violate the September Convention, for this would have permitted it to be said in France that that treaty had been torn up on the morrow of a disaster. But the moment the Empire had fallen and the Republic been proclaimed, one of those *exceptional* cases had arisen in the event of which Italy had reserved to herself, upon signing the September Convention, the right to resume her liberty of action. It must further be borne in mind that a Republic in France created a danger of revolution or, at least, of risings in Italy and in Rome itself. For the new French Republic endeavoured to re-establish the Roman Republic of 1849, and, by means of the Internationalists, attempts were made to provoke in Rome a movement for this object, which was to react upon the rest of Italy, to overturn the monarchy, and establish upon its ruins an alliance between the two Republics.

An enormous collection of memoirs, recollections,

letters and revelations of every kind have been issued bearing on those days. All show the general anxiety that prevailed; anxieties, doubts and perplexities, common to Liberals, the Opposition, believers and unbelievers. Michele Amari, the last to be suspected of clericalism or of tenderness for Catholic principles, wrote from Florence six days before the taking of Rome: "Tell me what you think of this cataclysm, this eruption, this deluge in which we try to lay hold of the patrimony of the Infallible One? From what I gather, we shall fall upon the city of Rome if the devil wishes the doors to be opened. And this is probable. We will go in for the enterprise, blind to its enormous cost, to the danger of the future and to the many disorders both physical and moral, which we shall encounter amid the Seven Hills. But whatever may be, to go to Rome is now an indisputable necessity. . . ."

The Ministry's great desire was to demonstrate to the civilised world and to all Catholics, that it did not enter the Pope's little State with violence, but that it was called there by the will of the people. It counted, up to the last, on an insurrection in Rome or the neighbouring towns. Meanwhile Ricotti, the new Minister of War, ordered Cadorna to encamp within sight of the city and, in case of a rising favourable to Italy, to penetrate into Rome by surprise and even by force.

The brief campaign of the Pontifical State was accomplished amid doubts and hesitations not only

political, but military, and amid difficulties of every sort, which arose again and again under different forms. On the whole, however, these delays were not prejudicial. If Cadorna complained that his hands were tied, and later deplored that the campaign was directed from Florence, he accomplished his arduous task with judgment and dignity. From September 16 Baron Blanc, Secretary-General of the Minister of the Interior, had been joined to him *à latere* in the event of any diplomatic questions arising with regard to the Holy See. The Ministry was anxious that the occupation of the Pontifical States should be accomplished pacifically if possible, and without fighting.

The Pope went out, for the last time, in the afternoon of the 19th, accompanied by his *Camerieri segreti*. He proceeded to the Scala Santa, which he ascended, kneeling. Arrived at the top, he prayed in a loud voice, broken by emotion. He left by the side door, and, pausing under the Byzantine niche, surveyed the troops encamped upon the open space between the Basilica and the walls. The colonel begged for the Papal blessing. He gave it in a loud voice, the soldiers responding with cheers, and presenting arms. He returned to the Vatican before nightfall. Groups of women and peasants called out, seeing the carriage, "His Holiness is not gone," for the rumour had spread that, as a protest against what was happening, the Pope had left Rome to embark on board the *Orènoque*.

Foreseeing that the attack of the Italian troops was imminent, Cardinal Antonelli notified the Diplomatic Corps. It was arranged that, at the first cannon shot, the Diplomatic Body should resort to the Vatican and remain near the Pope during the military action.

An important point in the history of these days is that which refers to the resistance offered by the Pontifical troops. The true version seems to be that the Pope wished to demonstrate unmistakably that he was the victim of violence, but he did not wish to prolong a useless defence. Instructions to that effect were given by him to Kanzler on that same day, the 19th.

Had these peremptory and Christian orders been obeyed hostilities would not have lasted five hours. We shall see later whether this resistance, which cost so many lives, was to be attributed solely to Kanzler or to the foreign commanders who disobeyed, or to the circumstance that all seemed to have lost their heads.

If curiosity conquers fear it is nevertheless true that many citizens barricaded themselves in their houses as if barbarians might be looked for at any moment. They had stored the chief necessaries of daily life, invited friends to spend the day, and at night played at *tombola* and supped gaily. Their terror was more conventional than real. Over the palaces of the nobles, the dwellings of the Diplomatic Corps and the Consular body, the flags of their respective countries were flown. Almost all the

princely palaces were barricaded inside ; the female convents were rigidly closed, and closed, too, were the churches and oratories annexed.

These were strange days, when tragedy and comedy went side by side. Unrest reigned supreme, but no action was taken. Meanwhile Cadorna's Staff were waiting for confirmation of reports of a rising in the city, of a declaration on the part of the Pontifical troops, or of the desertion of some military chief. All these rumours were without a shadow of foundation, for the Romans did not dream of rising nor the Papal troops of treason. At the Club of San Carlo, on the evening of the 19th, news spread that the attack would take place on the following day.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE TWENTIETH OF SEPTEMBER.

AT 5.15 a.m. of September 20 the Committee of Defence and the Ministry of War received notice from the observatory of S. Maria Maggiore that the enemy had opened fire upon the Tre Archi, Porta Maggiore, and Porta Pia. At 5.55 the Vatican observatory notified that the fire was more intense between Porta Salaria and Porta S. Giovanni, and at 6.35 that firing had begun also between Villa Pamphili and Porta San Pancrazio. The news was confirmed, ten minutes later, by the observatory of S. Maria Maggiore. The greatest anxiety prevailed in the Vatican, for the firing had dissipated the Pope's last illusions. He had risen early and showed an unwonted calm until 6.30—that is, until the Janiculum was cannonaded. Bixio had instructions not to use his artillery, and, until 6.35, he obeyed. But his impatient and impulsive temperament got the upper hand. Instead of limiting himself to sham attacks, he began to shoot wildly, to the manifest danger of that quarter of the city and, above all, of the Vatican and St. Peter's. The Swiss Guard

and the *gendarmes* were stationed before the Bronze Doors and other ingresses of the Apostolic Palace, in full fighting order, as though fearing to be attacked, and refusing admission to everyone, no matter under what pretext.

According to arrangement, the Diplomatic Corps, in full dress and in gala carriages, arrived at the Vatican. Monsignor De Bisogno, charged with their reception, was already awaiting them to do the honours. The carriages drove into the Courtyard of San Damaso, between half-past six and seven. The diplomats were invited to enter the Pope's private chapel and assist at the Mass. During the Office the cannon thundered against the besieged walls, and the grenades of the Janiculum, bursting with a loud noise, shook the glass of the windows and the loggia. Pius IX. showed no sign of emotion. The Mass over, he received the diplomats in his private library, and Arnim, speaking in the name of all, declared that the Ambassadors and Ministers of the Powers recognised the duty of shielding the Pontiff with their persons at this hour. The Pope thanked them, and, in a loud voice and in bitter phrases, inveighed against the violence of which he was the victim, protesting to the whole world against this "sacrilegious action." Meanwhile nine o'clock struck. The cannonading at Porta Pia and Porta San Giovanni became louder. Pius IX. could not understand why his orders had been disobeyed, and grew angry. In the absence of Kanzler, he sent peremptory orders that

the white flag should be raised at once over the cupola. It was half-past nine. A soldier hurried to transmit the order, which was carried out before ten struck. Ten minutes later firing ceased all along the line.

The firing having ceased, the Diplomatic Corps took leave of the Pope. Just as they were going, it appears that Pius IX. charged Arnim, or Arnim himself offered, to go to Cadorna's camp. It has never transpired whether this was with the object of obtaining better conditions after the surrender or to create fresh difficulties. Arnim, by nature a busybody, had only lately returned from the German camp, where Bismarck had instructed him to proceed with all reserve ; in the event, considered as certain, that the Italians occupied Rome, he was to show himself polite and considerate towards the Pope. This attitude was considered advisable by the Chancellor because of the many Catholics, amounting to many thousands, serving in the German army against France.

At half-past ten the Diplomatic Corps left the Vatican. After their departure the Pope resumed his easy good humour, and seating himself at his writing-table, composed, in all tranquillity, a charade in three verses upon the word *tremare* (to tremble). One of his chief amusements was the composition of charades, which he thought of easily, and which were not difficult to guess. The "whole" of the charade of September 20 represented a weakness he did not feel

in that moment. The charade was passed from hand to hand among the Monsignori of the Court.

> "Il tre non oltrepassa il mio primiero,
> È l'altro molto vasto e molto infido
> Che spesso spesso fa provar l'intero."

The firing had scarcely ceased when a crowd of curious onlookers flocked to Porta Pia. The lower city remained deserted. Though the guns ceased firing at ten, the Italian troops did not begin to arrive till shortly before midday. The rumour spread that they would enter after the visit of the Diplomatic Corps to Villa Albani. Instead, the latter arrived at Porta Pia when the Italian troops, entering by gate and breaches, were already within the walls.

The diplomats, who were not too well inclined to Italy, did not disguise their surprise at seeing the Italian soldiers already inside the walls, and Arnim refused to believe it. They continued their way to Villa Albani. Once outside the gate, they recognised that further progress in carriages was impossible, owing to the narrowness of the road, encumbered as it was with artillery wagons and ambulances, as well as with broken masonry from the breaches and a parallel wall which flanked the street. So they got out, picking their way on foot among the fragments, and reached Villa Albani just as Cardona was conferring with Colonel Carpegna.

The capitulation was signed at three, in the central hall of Villa Albani.

The capitulation had been drawn up by Cadorna,

THE PORTA PIA.

After the entrance of the Italian Army in 1870.

but Kanzler brought his own scheme, prepared in concert with the Pope and Antonelli. The two Commanders, with their respective Staffs, were seated round the large table near the window, and Kanzler presented his proposals. The first ran as follows: "The sacred person of the Holy Father shall be treated with the greatest respect; the Sacred College and the clergy shall not only be respected, but all religious Congregations of either sex shall be maintained, including those abolished by the laws of the kingdom of Italy." The other sections dealt with the military side of the capitulation. Cadorna, in his turn, read his conditions, pointing out that some were more liberal than those presented by Kanzler, and urging that it was needful to come to a speedy understanding in the interest of public order. A short discussion followed, an additional article was added, conceding that the Noble Guard, Palatine and Swiss Guards, should be recognised as specially attached to the person of the Pope, to be transferred, however, temporarily, to the Leonine city. The capitulation was signed by the two Chiefs of the Staffs and ratified by the two Commanders-in-Chief.

Some disorder and tumults followed upon the entry of the Italian troops into the city, but fortunately they were quickly suppressed. The populace showed good sense, but nevertheless some disagreeable scenes took place.

The behaviour of the Roman municipality at that time was not without blame. Neither the Senator

Marchese Cavalletti-Rondanini nor any of the Conservators, of either the first or second class, presented themselves at the Vatican to comfort the old Pope. Neither did they venture to show themselves at the Campidoglio or Villa Albani on the 20th, nor at Palazzo Piombino on the 21st. The Campidoglio awoke again on the 24th, when the Junta of Government, nominated by Cadorna, took its seat there.

The Junta of Government of Rome and its Provinces, as it was called, was chosen by Cadorna from the best members of the nobility and citizens. The Duke of Sermoneta, who was at Frascati, came to Rome, and proceeded thence to Florence, together with the Junta, bearing to the King the result of the plebiscite. Victor Emmanuel bestowed upon him the Collar of SS. Annunziata. The synchronism of the two events—the fall of the Napoleonic Empire and the liberation of Rome—was, as Nigra justly observed, a misfortune for the future relations between the two countries. If Jules Favre, on September 12, told Nigra that the government of the Republic was sympathetically inclined to give Italy a free hand, and M. Crémieux, later on, applauded the entry of the Italian soldiers into Rome, these sentiments were far from finding an echo in the minds of all Frenchmen, who saw in that very synchronism a blow to their *amour propre*. Bonapartists and clericals, above all, vented every kind of abuse against the "bad faith and ingratitude" of the Italians. But it was an inevitable necessity to go to Rome, and the government

accomplished its duty with sobriety and magnanimity, having recourse to force only when all other measures had failed. Such is the judgment of those not blinded by party feeling, and such will be the verdict of history.

On the morning of September 21 Pius IX., informed that the disarming of the troops was accomplished at Porta San Pancrazio, that the Papal flag was lowered at Castel San Angelo, that his army and his State no longer existed, wrote this letter to his nephew Luigi, at Senigallia:

"From the Vatican, September 21.

"DEAR NEPHEW,—All is over! Without liberty it is impossible to govern the Church. Pray for me, all of you. I bless you.

"PIUS P. IX."

Queen Margherita now possesses the autograph original.

With the taking of Rome the Papal States ceased to exist, and the epic period of the National Rising was terminated. But nevertheless, from the day Rome became the seat of the government of the new State, that juridical and political absurdity arose, viz., the co-existence of two sovereigns in the same territory, sovereignties fiercely inimical to each other until after the new Pontificate. Any city but Rome would have been unfitted to make this great experiment of harbouring within its walls a dispossessed Pope and an elected King; a religious and a civil sovereignty;

the Papacy, which was beginning to recognise some necessities of the new era, and the monarchy, needful to the unity of the nation. But Rome has carried even into national life her keen and characteristic scepticism, before which the strongest impetus dies down, and the most rooted convictions yield to the temptations of opportunism, and, still more, to that law of adaptability before which the city, at all times, has bowed, and caused its conquerors to bow.

History will speak the last word, but retrogression is impossible.

FINIS.

INDEX

INDEX

Aberdeen, the Earl of, Gladstone's letters to, 195
About, Edmond F. V., 109; "La Rome Contemporaine," 72
Abruzzi, capital of, 209; Pope's visit to, 156
Academy of Quirites, Rome, 148
Achilli, Father, 28
Acquapendente, Garibaldians penetrate to, 382
Acton, Lord, visit to Rome during Ecumenical Council, 425, 426
Adamoli, 391
Adrian, V., Pope, 31
Adriatic Sea, 215, 216
Agoult, Marie, Comtesse, 154
Aguglia, 301
Ajaccio, re-interment of Madame Bonaparte and Cardinal Feschi at, 52, 53
Alatri, Samuel, 181
Alatri, visit of Pius IX. to, 4
Albano, Bishop of, 4
Albano, cholera epidemic at, 319, 320; visit of Pius IX. to, 4, 5
Aldobrandini, Prince, 123; hospitality of, 59
Alegiani, Signora, 109
Alessandro, cannons for, subscribed for by National Roman Committee, 260
Alibrandi, 6, 108, 109
Alte, Comte D', minister of Portugal in Turin, 165
Altieri, Cardinal Ludovico, Chancellor of the University, 148, 249, 250, 319, 320; personal tendencies of, 13; reception given by, 59; students' protests addressed to, 254
Amalia of Saxony, Princess, 48
Amari, Michele, letter before the taking of Rome, 449
Ampère, Jean Jacques, 72, 109
Ancona, 161, 209, 234, 279; opening of railway line to Bologna, 133, 134; Pius IX.'s visit to, 157; free port at, 204, 205; road constructed to, 210; insurance, 214; fishing industry at, 216; suppression of insurrection, 236; garrison at, 280; attack on, 283; surrender of, 287; defence of, 289, 290; fall of, as affecting Rome, 290, 291
Andrea, Cardinal Girolamo d', 119, 327–30
Andrea, Marchese d', 327
Angelis, De, President of the Congregations, 90, 424
Aniene Valley, living conditions in, 211
Antici-Mattei, 83
Anti-Infallibilists, ignominious flight of, 436
Antonelli, Giacomo, Cardinal, Secretary of State to the Papal States, 28, 51, 59, 71, 83, 119, 172, 178, 219, 220, 228, 244, 270, 277, 279, 280, 298, 301, 322, 354, 376, 407; portrait of, described, 1; State power, 11, 25; official dinner given by, 12; ambition, 42; methods of, disapproved, 73; and the Press, 89; portrait of, 121; power of, 124; nobility conferred on, 125, 126; gallantries, 125, 126; attempt on life, 126; confidants of, 127; portrait of, in the Vatican, 127; acquaintance with Princess Wittgenstein, 151; refusal of, to permit the meeting of

municipal councils, 158; appeal to France and Austria, 222, 223; accusations against, 259; arbitrary conduct, 262; attacks on, 272; note addressed to, 313; dislike to Altieri, 319; regarded as a leader, 337; difficult situation of, 342; resignation of, not accepted, 345; reception of the prelates of the Consultà, 346; reply to despatch from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, 351; reinstatement of, 355; reply to proposals of Victor Emmanuel, 358, 359; courtesy shown by, to delegates of Victor Emmanuel, 361; attitude towards proposals of Tonello, 363; agreement to proposals for nominations, 364; schemes accepted by, 365; description of passports issued by, and regulations respecting, 370, 371; fears of, for neglect of the frontier, 378; council of war with, 393; permanent residence in Rome, 410; entertaining done by, 425; interview with Rivalta on the question of invasion and defence, 442; reception of Count Ponza di Martini, 443, 444; orders to the Diplomatic Body, 451; capitulation scheme prepared by, 457

Antonelli (family), ennoblement of, 87

Apennines, railway construction on, 133

Appian Way, 3

Apulia, capital of, 209

Aquila, Count d', 2

Aracœli, 120

Arese, Count, opinion held by, respecting French occupation of Rome, 348; sent to Paris after Cavour's death; 348

Arezzo, army corps at, 277

Armand, M., visit of, to Pius IX., 389, 390

Army of the League, 237, 269

Army of occupation, *see* French Army of Occupation.

Arnim, 71; activity of, 426; declaration of loyalty to the Pope pronounced by, 454; charged to parley in Cadorna's camp, 455

Arqua, Petrarch's house at, 317, 318

Arts, terms of taxation of persons engaged in, 33

Ascoli, visit of Pius IX. to, 161

Assisi, visit of Pius IX. to, 159–61

Astura, 122

Auber's "Muta di Portici" renamed, 193

Auguste, Count, *see* Louis Maximilian, King of Bavaria.

Austria, Emperor of, 19, 198

Austria, Elizabeth, Empress of, 425

Austria, defeat at Magenta, 234; possible attack of, on Italy, 80; concessions for railway lines, 133; domination of, in the Legations, 157; Court of, 166; power over Papal Government, 174, 175; attitude of, 274

Austrian Ambassadors, relations with the French, 201, 202

Austrian Envoy, ultimatum of, 228

Austrian Government, reply to the Pope, 223; refusal of, for a Congress, 224

Austrian troops, 22; encampment without Ravenna, 235; defeat of, at Solferino, 242

Azeglio, Massimo d', 114; visit of, to the Duke of Sermoneta, 71; pamphlet "Emancipation of the Jews," 179; visit to Rome, 199; words of, 266; opinion as to the capital of Italy, 350

Bagnorea, 382

Ballerini, Archbishop of Milan, nomination of, cancelled, 364

Baraguay d'Helliers, General, 9, 21; order issued by, 24; power and unpopularity of, 27; attitude of, towards ecclesiastical authority, 28; recall of, 29; receptions given by, 28, 29

Barberini, Cardinal, 321, 322; Don Filippo, 78

Bargagli, Marchese, 229
Bargagli family, hospitality of, 59
Bargaglia, Minister for Tuscany, 202
Basilica of Alessandrina, 119
Bavaria, King of, *see* Louis Maximilian, King of Bavaria.
Bavarian proposal of representation of the Powers at the Ecumenical Council, 426, 427
Beck, Father Peter, election as general, 56
Bellotti, Amilcare, 189
Benedetto, Cardinal, 6
Benvenuto Cellini, 60
Berlin, 202
Berry, Duchess of, at Bologna, 165
Bertani, 394
Berti, Lanza's letter to, respecting the Infallibility, 429, 430; mission to Rome, 429–31
Bertolé-Viale, 290
Bevagna cloth factory, 206
Bigioli (painter), 1
Bishops (anti-Infallibilist), departure of, from Rome, 438
Bisogno, Monsignor De, Diplomatic Corps received at the Vatican by, 454
Bixio, 265; instructions of, for the defence disobeyed, 453; opinion respecting the transference of the capital, 350
Black aristocracy, demonstrations against action of certain Roman ladies, 407–9
Blanc, Baron, Secretary-General of the Minister of the Interior, 450
Boccaccio's Tales, 76
Bocca Trabaria (pass), road constructed over, 210
Bologna, Archbishop of, anti-Infallibilist, 433
Bologna, 168, 171, 176, 177, 209, 237; railway constructed, 133, 134; Pius IX.'s visit to, 157; general tone of, 158; Liberalism at, 163; official visit of Pius IX., 164; petition to Pius IX., 167; passport system at, 206; industries at, 206, 207; insurance system, 214; departure from, of Austrians, 234; news at, of Austrian defeat, 235; distrust of, by Papal Government, 224, 225; temporal power of the Pope declared extinct, 241; assembly of the Legations, 242
Bonanni, Professor, 148
Bonaparte family, 108
Bonaparte, Madame Letizia, her death and funeral, 51–3
Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, Prince, afterwards Napoleon III. *See* Napoleon III., Emperor.
Bonaparte, Lucien, Cardinal, 322–4
Bonaparte, Paulina, 63
Boncompagni, Carlo, Minister of Sardinia, 165, 166
Bonfadini, 72
Bonghi, 72
Boni, Filippo di, author of "Studi Storici sul passato," 57
Boniface VIII., Pope, 31, 69
Boramante, palace built by, 58
Bordeaux, Archbishop of, reception of, by Napoleon III., 245
Borelli, Father Nicola, of Foggia, 57
Borgatti, Minister, 365
Borghese family, hospitality of, 58, 59, 62, 63, 83, 369
Borghese, Prince Marcantonio, 10, 123; entertainment given by, 9; magnificence of, 75; charitable lottery at the villa of, 173; address to the Pope presented by, 296
Borghese, Scipione, glass belonging to, 63
Borgonuova Palace, 58
Borromeo, Chamberlain, 1, 3
Boznio, 300, 301
Brazil, Empress of, 200
Brewster, Sir David, 72
Brigandage, conference between Tonello and Antonelli respecting, 365, 366
Brignone, General, advance on Spoleto, 282

Bruce, Colonel, tutor to the Prince of Wales, 198, 199
Bruce, Mrs., 198
Bruent, General, 53
Bulow, Cosima Von,divorce of, and remarriage with Richard Wagner, 154
Bulow, Hans von, 154

Cacciatori Affricani, squadron of, as escort to Pius IX., 5
Cadorna, General, 69 ; ordered to encamp within sight of Rome, 449 ; complaints of, 450 ; staff, 452 ; capitulation drawn up by, 456, 457 ; new Junta nominated by, 458
Caetani family, 154, 181, 317, 320
Caetani, Ersilia, 70
Caetani, Michelangelo, Duke of Sermoneta, 17, 70, 320, 368 ; attitude of, towards Papal Restoration, 11 ; President of the Junta Government, 69 ; personal character, 69, 70 ; *salon* of, 70–2 ; letters of, quoted, 71 ; literary references to, 72 ; dislike to politics, 72 ; office of Minister of Police held by, 72 ; personal habits of, 73 ; accusations of avarice against, 74 ; studies and pursuits, 74, 75 ; horse-breeding, 90 ; Liszt's introduction to, 149 ; presentation swords designed by, 260 ; presentation by, of married couple to the Pope, 387 ; advice of, asked respecting the gift to Princess Margherita, 406, 407 ; chalice designed by, 408 ; decoration of, 458
Caetani, Sermoneta, Duchess of, 320
Caetani, Onorato, 70, 72, 387
Caff, Colonel, United States Minister in Rome, 6
Cagli, cloth factory at, 206
Cairoli, 372, 390
Cairoli, Enrico, 389
Cairoli, Giovanni, 389
Calabiana, Monsignor, 364
Calabria, Duke of, 3, 200
Calabria, capital of, 209
Camera Apostolica (newspaper), 18, 196
Camillo Jacobini, Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, etc., personal history of, 19
Campana, Marchese Giampietro, director of the Monte di Pietrà, 104–7
Campello, Enrico di, 332
Cancello railway, 129
Canino, Prince di, 23, 322
Canitz, de, 71
Canova, 145
Cantù, Cesare, 425
Capranica, Giuliano, 189
Capranica, Marchese Pio, denouncement of, 340
Capranica del Grillo, Marchese, *see* Ristori, Adelaide.
Caprera, Roman emigrants to, 371 ; Garibaldi under surveillance at, 447
Capua, Archbishop of, 2
Capua, 2, 129
Carci, Father, 195
Cardinals, social position, 85, 86, 93 ; presence of, in *salons*, 81 ; use of third person in conversation with, 92 ; charitable distribution by, 99 ; deceased, sale of effects, 102–3. *See also* special names.
Cardinal-Vicar of Rome, injunctions of, for the reception of Pius IX., 5 ; penances imposed by, *re* Carnivals, 21
Cardona, conference with Colonel Carpegna, 456
Carigniano, Charles Albert, Prince of, 126, 145, 244 ; personal influences over, 56 ; conduct of, in Naples, 304
Carnivals, 9, 20, 23, 59, 146
Carpegna, Colonel, 456
Cartwright, 425
Case Bruciate, construction of railway line at, 133
Caserto, 2
Castelfidardo, Battle of, 216 ; monument to commemorate, 145 ; rout of the Papal army at, 281–7 ; importance of victory at, 288 ; defeat at, as affecting

Rome, 290, 291; anniversary of, commemorated, 295, 296
Castelgandolfo, 51, 121
Castel Giubileo, 390
Castellani, 260, 368
Castellani, Augusto, chalice designed by, 408
Castellani, Fortunato, 369
Castellani workshop, 317; revival of goldsmiths' work by, 75; influence exercised by, 259; gift to Princess Margherita executed by, 406, 407
Castelli, 64
Castel Porziano, 233
Castel San Angelo, 399, 459
Catacombs, 119
Catalonia, birthplace of Fortuny, 144
Catelinan, 272
Catherine, Duchess of Russia, 200
Catholicism, baneful influence of, 84
Cattolica, 236, 268; railway construction at, 134; birthplace of Pius IX., 157; army corps surrounding, 277
Cava de Tirreni, abbey of, 365
Cavalletti-Rondanini, Marchese, 458
Cavour, Benso di, Count, 166, 167, 178, 179, 223, 237, 238, 239, 241, 279, 293, 298, 302; alliance of, with Kossuth, 80; political circular, 218, 219; meeting of, with Napoleon III., 221; visit to Paris, 224; influence of, over the Bolognese, 225; ultimatum delivered to, 228; last Sacrament administered to, 247, 248; gold medal for, subscribed for, 260; desire of, for a Liberal demonstration, 260; return to office, 268; intrigues with, 274; dismissal of, from Naples, demanded, 275; Garibaldi's anger against, 275; genius of, 276; plans of campaign, 276, 277; ultimatum despatched to General Lamoricière, 278; letter to Pepoli, 292; representations to Napoleon III., 293; mission of, to Rome, 297; negotiations opened by, with Pius IX., 298; project not approved by, 301; Passaglia recalled by, 302; second treaty instigated by, 303; letter to Passaglia, 303; letter to Pantaleoni, 303, 304; hopes of, for treaty, 304; letter to, from Pantaleoni respecting negotiations with Rome, 305; discourse pronounced by, 306; correspondence with Passaglia, 306, 307; acceptance of conditions of treaty, 307; initiation of fresh diplomatic campaign, 307; negotiations with Rome, 298–308; death of, 308; proposals of, embodied in Ricasoli's scheme, 311
Cavour, Marchese Gustavo di, 199
Ceccano, 4
Celentano (painter), 144
Cella, Count, 108
"Centre of Insurrection" manifesto issued by, 371; constitution of branch committees, 379; real government by, 384
Ceprano, 130, 134, 135
Cermuschi, 109
Cerruti, Monsignor, 358, 360
Certosa, abbey, 365
Cervara, masquerade of, 146, 147
Cesanni, Francesco, 80
Cesanni, Duke Sforza, death in exile, 1866, 80
Cesarini, Duke Lorenzo Sforza, appointment as Royal Commissioner of Viterbo, 292, 293; public protest of, 294, 295
Cesena, 235; visit of Pius IX. to, 162; industry at, 207; entry of the Austrian troops, 235
Charles Albert, Prince Carigniano, *see* Carigniano.
Charles Felix, King of Sardinia, *see* Sardinia, Charles Felix, King of.
Charles Salvator, son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 160
Chigi, Flavio, Archbishop and Nuncio, 324
Chioggia, fishing industry at, 215, 216
Church States. *See* Papal States.
Cialdini, General, commander of an army corps, 277; violent orders issued by, 282; surrender of Pesaro

to, 282 ; victorious march to Lesi, 282; efficiency of, 283 ; action of, at Battle of Castelfidardo, 285 ; opinion respecting the transference of the capital, 350 ; composition of new ministry by, 383 ; resignation, 384
Cibo, Count Ferdinand, 183
Cisterna, 3
Citta di Castello, 207
Civiltà Cattolica (newspaper), 195, 196, 269, 299, 329, 423
Civinini, 72
Civita Castellana, 159, 293
Civita Vecchia, 53, 132, 133, 204, 205, 209, 215, 216, 277, 290, 293, 372, 390, 391, 441, 442
Clendeworth, Mr., U.S.A. Consul, 229
Colfiorito, 210
Collar of the Annunziata, 199
College of the Provinces (Jesuit), 55, 56
Colonna family, 187
Colonna, Marcantonio, 69
Colloredo, Count, 201 ; demonstration against, 228
Collucci, Giuseppe, Prefect of Caserta, 429–31
Cometo, burial of Mme. Bonaparte and Cardinal Feschi at, 52, 53
Commissione Governativo di Stato, *see* Triumvirate of Cardinals.
Commission of Government, nomination of, 26
Committee of Action, 371 ; accusations against the National Roman Committee, 266; manifesto issued by, 372, 373
Committee of Insurrection, affecting Rattazzi's decision, 380 ; Cucchi sent to Rome by, 387
Committee of Public Safefy, 273
Compiègne, 154
Confessionals, 79, 84
Confessors, 78
Congregation of the Index, 31 ; books prohibited by, 57 ; condemnation by, of pamphlet, 309 ; discussions respecting the Infallibility, 432 ; severity of, 433
Congress, postponement of, 246, 247
Congress of Paris, *see under* Paris.
Consistory, creation of cardinals by, 40
Conti Guoli, Elena dei, poetess, 57
Convention, signed in Paris, 350, 351
Convention of September, obligations undertaken by Italy, 366, 367 ; impracticability of, 377, 379
Correspondence de Rome (newspaper), 196
Corsi, Cardinal, 164
Cottee, General, 53
Council of Trent, Ecumenical Council suggested at, 422
Courten, De, 398
Courts of the First Instance, 87
Crémieux, M., 458
Crimean War, 158
Crispi, 372, 380, 381
Cronichetta Mensuale, 196
Cucchi, 387–9, 391
Curia, denounced by the Ultramontanes, 269 ; anger of, with Cavour, 306 ; uneasiness of, 372
Currency in the Papal States, *see under* Papal States.
Customs in the Papal States, *see under* Papal States.
Custoza, 80

Dalmatia, imports from, 204
Dante Alighieri, 31, 69, 70
Darboy, Monsignor, senator of the Empire, 426
Datti, Egidio, 336
Del Drago, *see* Drago, Del.
Della Genga, *see* Genga, Della, Cardinal.
Della Minerva, *see* Minerva, Della.
Della Rocca, *see* Rocca, Della.
Del Vico, *see* Vico, Del.
Demonstrations, 260
Diamante (gunsmith), 110, 111
"Diane de Lys," 193
Diplomatic Body (Papal), 81, 202, 259, 451, 454, 455
Dionisi, defence of Fausti, by, 343

Diotallevi, accusations brought by, 339–43
"Divine Comedy" (Dante), 31
Divin Salvatore (newspaper), 196
Donizetti's "Adelaide," first performance, 185
Doria family, 58, 59, 62, 63, 67, 317
Doria, Prince, magnificence of, 75; monument raised by, in memory of French soldiers, 75; summer travels, 77; office of Syndic held by, 77; nominated as senator, 77; resignation of prefecture of the palace, 77; reopening of *salons*, 77; marriage of his daughter, 77; death and burial, 1876, 78
Doria, Princess, death of, 1858, 77
Drago, Del, 59
Dumas *fils*, "Dame aux Camélias," 154
Dumas, Alexandré, *père*, 369, 370
Dumont, General, 375
Duplessis, Signorina, 154
Dupont, Cardinal, 1

Ecclesiastical property, discussion of questions concerning, 365
Ecclesiastics, cautiousness of, v
Eco del Divin Salvatore (newspaper), 196
Ecumenical Council, celebrations in honour of, 409, 412; new dogma to be promulgated, 422, 423; inauguration of commemorative monument, 424; prorogation of, 424; reopening, 425; universal interest taken in, 426; example furnished by, 435; few practical results of, 437
Edward VII., visit to Rome as Prince of Wales, 199
Elementary education in Rome, *see under* Rome.
Elizabeth, Empress of Austria, *see* Austria, Elizabeth, Empress of.
Emilia, 134, 199, 238
"The End of a Kingdom," by R. de Cesare, referred to, v
England, imports from Italy, 207
Epigrams, 86, 87
Episcopacy and Piedmontese clergy, struggle between, 120, 121
Epitaffio, 1, 2, 3
Esimo, 205
Eugénie, Empress of the French, 22, 442
Exports, 207

Fabris, De, monument to Tasso executed by, 148
Fabriano, industries at, 206
Faenza, 133, 163, 235
Fagagna, Cardinal Fabio Asquini di, 318
Failly, General de, 398, 404; proclamation of, 391, 392; entry into Rome, 393; action of, creating a bad impression, 394; received by the Pope, 399
Faioli, 122
Fano, 162, 208, 236
Fanti, General, Commander of the Army of the League, 237, 277, 278; differences with Garibaldi, 237, 238; expedition into the Marches, 238; declaration of war by, 282; efficiency of, 283; instructions to, 294
Fantocchi, 189
Farina, Count Filippo, Minister of War, 20, 30, 259
Farina, General, 295
Farini, appointment as dictator, 241; administration of, 268
Farini, Captain Domenico, 280
Fausti, Ludovico, case against, 337; seizure of papers in the possession of, 338, 339; arrest of, 341, 342; inventions against, 343; penal sentence on, 344; public indignation at sentence of, 345; period of imprisonment, 355, 356; death of, 356
Favre, Jules, 458
Fazzari, Achille, 382
Fea, 71
Felici, De, attempt by, on the life of Cardinal Antonelli, 126, 127
Ferdinand II., King of Naples, 166, 230; and the Pope, 1–5; medals of,

11 ; visit of, to the Pope, 51 ; decoration of members of the Papal Court by, 51
Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, 200
Ferentino, 4
Fermo, 161
Ferrara, 205, 209, 234, 421 ; Pius IX.'s visit to ; 156, 168 ; passport system at, 206 ; industry at, 207 ; living conditions in, 211 ; insurance system, 214 ; revolution, 236
Ferrari, Monsignor, appointment of, as Accountant-General, 18 ; title of Duke of Galliera bestowed on, 81 ; Minister of Finance, election as a commissioner, 274
Feschi, Cardinal, 52
Figline, 395, 396
"Filosofie delle scuole italiane," by Ansonio Franchi, 57
Finzi and Bianchelli, 110
Fiumicino, 215, 217
Fleury, General, 374
Florence, 114, 115, 241 ; chair of Dante founded at Orsanmichele, 70 ; official visit of Pius IX., 171, 172 ; savings bank, 213 ; departure of Grand Duke Leopold from, 229 ; equipment of volunteers for, 261 ; transference of the capital to, 352, 371 ; revolutionary tumults, 380 ; Cialdini's arrival in, 383 ; arrival at, of Garibaldi, 384 ; marriage of Princess Margherita at, 406 ; Palazzo Pitti, 406, 407 ; public excitement caused by French defeats, 446 ; ministerial determination to keep public order, 447 ; news of Sedan, 448
Florenzi-Waddington, Marchesa Manamia, author of "Lettere filosofie," 57
Foligno, 159, 161
Fondi, 1, 3
Forli, passport system at, 205 ; industry at, 207 ; visit of Pius IX., 162, 163
Fortuny, 143, 144
Fossanuova, Abbey of, visit of Pius IX., 4
Fossombrone, cloth factory, 206 ; suppression of insurrection, 236
Fracassini, 144
France, general bank of the railways, Spanish railway company's proposals to, 137, 138 ; power over Rome, 175 ; treaty with Piedmont, 221 ; proposed cession of certain places to, 247 ; attitude of the National Roman Committee towards, 256 ; distrust of Legitimist movement, 273 ; anxiety manifested in, 376 ; public opinion in, 383, 384 ; proposed alliance with Italy, 405 ; Catholic prestige diminished, 423 ; placed in the wrong, 441
Franchi, Ansonio, author of "Filosofie delle scuole italiane," 57
Francis II., ex-King, 425
Franco-Belgians, address by major to his soldiers, 284
Franco-Roman legions, arrival of General Dumont to inspect, 375
Frascati, 122, 129, 130, 320
Fraschini (tenor), 188
Frasso, Major Alfredo Dentice di, officer in command of escort of Pius IX., 2
Fra Torso, 413
Frederick William, King of Prussia, 57, 58, 202
French Army of Occupation in Rome, 27, 36, 75, 256, 293, 347, 366, 367
French Chamber, 405, 427
French commander-in-chief, 22
French defeats, unexpectedness of, 440, 446
French, departure of, from Rome, 372
French diplomats, action of, on formation of Rattazzi's cabinet, 377
French entry into Rome, 26
French expedition, arrival of, 391
French influences at Court, 22
French language spoken by Roman ladies, 81
French Legitimists, organ of, 196
French Minister of Foreign Affairs (Minghetti (?)), despatch to the Holy See, 351

French novels read by Roman ladies, 81
French Republic, attempt by, to re-establish the Roman Republic, 448; attitude towards Italian government, 458
French Republic, President of, *see* Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.
French squadron, arrival of, at Civita Vecchia, 391
French troops, in Rome, 6, 7; killing of, 23; re-entry into Rome, 391; wounded transported to Rome, 397; recall from Civita Vecchia, 441, 442
Friars, lucky numbers supplied by, 417
Frosinone, 4, 209, 390
Furino, 154
Furlo, 210
Fusinone, 208

Gabrielli, Prince, Minister of Public Works, acting as Minister of War, 1
Gaeta, 3, 51, 230, 290; capitulation of, and results, 304; Mazzini's imprisonment at, 447
Galileo, 149
Galletti, 17
Galli, reorganisation of navigation of the Tiber by, 18, 19; monograph by, on economics, 19
Galliera, Duke of, concessions for railway lines made to, 133, *see also* Ferrari.
Gallori, Emilio, Garibaldi's statue by, 424
Garibaldi, General Giuseppe, 4, 25, 265, 269, 347; departure of, from Rome, 29; differences with General Fanti, 237, 238; address to the army, 237, 238; connection with the army of Emilia, 238; portraits of, posted, 254; money sent to, 261; entrance into Palermo, 265; his friends, 274; takes possession of Sicily, 275; entrance into Naples, 275; incited by Roman emigrants, 371; invested with full powers by a revolutionary manifesto, 371; acceptance of the "Central Committee of Insurrection" at Florence, 372; travel through Venetia, 372; entry into Venice, 372; proclamations of, on the fall of Ricasoli, 372; ambitions of, 372; a cause of anxiety in France, 376; action of, on formation of Rattazzi's cabinet, 377; address at Monsumma, 378; inflammatory speeches, 378, 379; and the revolution, a danger to the convention, 379; incited to proceed with his enterprise, 380; imprisonment, 380; arrival at Florence, 384; supreme command of insurrectionary forces assumed by, 384; attempted rearrest of, 385, 386; retreat of, 390, 391; orders disobeyed, 390; march on Monterotondo, 390; headquarters, 390; orders for concentration at Tivoli, 393; retreat from Mentana, 395; arrest at Figline, 395, 396; movements of, 400; monument to, 424; under surveillance at Caprera, 447
Garibaldians, 258; rising of, 381, 382
Garibaldian army, refusal of, to leave Rome, 29, 30; surprise and retreat, 394, 395; wounded transported to Rome, 397
Garibaldi, Menotti, 380, 382
Garibaldi, Monsignor (Papal Nuncio at Naples), portrait of, referred to, 2
Garigliano bridge, 2, 290
Gaude, Cardinal, 148
Gazetta Ufficiale (newspaper), 380
Gemeau, General, Commander-in-chief, 29, 53
General of the expeditionary forces, power of, 21
Geneva, Peace Congress at, 379
Genga, Della, Cardinal, 13, 18
Gennaraccio, manifesto published by, 336, 337
Genoa, 77, 219, 265
Genzano, 475
Gerini, 171
Ghini, Angelo, 162

Giaccomo, Father, reprimanded for administering last Sacrament to Cavour, 247, 248
Giamiccia, Monsignor, 236
Giansanti, Monsignore, 18
Gibson (sculptor), pupil of Canova, 146
Gigi (a model), 142
Gino, Marchese, 171
Giornale del foro (legal newspaper), 196
Giornale delle Strade Ferrate (newspaper), 196
Giornale di Roma (newspaper), 89, 194, 195, 290
Giornale Medico di Roma (newspaper), 196
Girometti, 11
Giulay, Marshal, 222
Gladstone, late Right HonourableW.E., 195, 426
Gounod, Charles F., 148, 149, 409
Government commission of cardinals, 5
Goyon, General, 159, 172, 200, 230–2, 244, 274, 291, 293, 294
Gozzadini family, 225
Grammont, Duc de, French Ambassador, 200, 201, 228, 240, 281, 282, 291
Gravina, 67
Gregorovius, 72, 425
Gregory XIII., 95
Gregory XIV., 4
Gregory XV., 95
Gregory XVI., 16, 52
Grey, Captain, 198
Grassellini, Cardinal, 325
Gropello, 291, 293
Grosseto, 269
Grottamare, 206
Grottoferrata, 5, 122
Guaccerini (teacher of architecture), 142
Gualterio, Minister of the Interior, 294, 401
Guarcino, industries at, 206
Guelph, chronicler, 21
Guelph families, representation of, 9
Guelph gentlemen's order for a statue, 145
Guerzoni, 391
Guoli, Domenico, 148
Hébert, M., Director of the Imperial French Academy, 72, 149
"A Hebrew Family" (drama), 179
Helliers, General Baraguay d', *see* Baraguay d'Helliers, General.
Hesse, Prince of, 200
History writing, modern forms of,
Hohenlohe, Monsignor, *cameriere segreto*, 1; blessing of the railway by, 135; student at the Ecclesiastical Academy, 332
Hohenlohe, Prince, 426
Hooker (banker), 62, 108
Howard, Edward, student at the Ecclesiastical Academy, 332
Hübner, Baron, Austrian Ambassador, 274
Humbert, Prince, 328
Hungarian Legion, formation of, 274

"Il Trovatore," by Verdi, 127
Imola, Bishop of, 157; Pius IX.'s visits to, 157, 163
Immaculate Conception, dogma, promulgation of, 127, 128
Immaculate Conception (man-of-war), 132
Index, Congregation of, *see* Congregation of the Index.
Industries in the Papal States, terms of taxation of persons engaged in, 33
Infallibility, *see* Papal Infallibility.
Innocent VIII., 182
Isabella, Queen of Spain, 201
Isaia, 301
Italian agents abroad, circular sent to, 447
Italian Army, class of officers in, 355; frontier crossed by, 446; entry into Rome, 456; scenes on the entry of, into Rome, 457
Italian Chamber, demolition by, of previously accepted proposals, 366; reopening of, 400; discussions in, 401–5; closing of, and action of deputies, 447
Italian Episcopate, attitude of, towards Ecumenical Council, 428, 429

Italian Government, distrust of Pius IX. for, 352 ; promise of, to defend the territory of the Holy See, 353 ; article providing for the presentation of religious buildings, etc., by, 365 ; passivity of, causing anxiety in France, 376 ; attacks of Pius IX. against, 305 ; inability of, to suppress the revolution, 382 ; abolition of power by Ministry, 384 ; exceptional cases reserved by, in signing the September convention, 448
Italian Ministry, weakness of, 388 ; gravity of situation realised by, 448 ; intentions of, in entering the Pope's State, 449, 450
Italian politics, ix
Italian unity incompatible with the independence of the Church, 429
Italy, King of, *see* Victor Emmanuel II., King of Italy.
Italy, possible attack on, by Austria, 80 ; war in, affecting political situation, 138, 139; rights of, to hold Rome, 311, 312 ; kingdom of, recognition by other Powers, 335 ; capital of, question *re*, 349 ; arrangements for religious peace in, 366, 367 ; necessity for sincere agreement between the Pope and, 368 ; war, evil effects left by, 372 ; proposed alliance with France, 405 ; Rome united to, 419 ; kingdom of, new railways and roads, 421 ; political danger of the Infallibility, 428 ; undisturbed by occurrences in Rome, 438 ; Napoleon's desire for an alliance with, 439

Jacobini, death of, 20
Jacovacci, Vincenzo, *impresario* of the Apollo theatre, 109, 185–8
Japanese delegation to Cardinal Barberini, 321–2
Jesi, industries at, 206 ; Cialdini's march to, 282 ; suppression of insurrection, 236
Jesuits, 128 ; political sermons preached by, 336 ; desire for proclamation of Papal Infallibility, 427
Jews, converted, insurance system for, 214
Judges of appeal, class selected for, 81
Junta of Government of Rome and its provinces, 69, 458

Kanzler, Ermanno, 398, 454 ; army strengthened and remodelled under, 354 ; Pontifical army recalled by, 386 ; Pontifical army led by, 393 ; audience with the Pope, 398 ; title bestowed on, 399 ; municipal vote of thanks to, 404 ; instructions to, for the defence, 446, 451 ; scheme for capitulation, 457
Kiew, 150
Klapka, György, General, 274
Knight, Miss Margherita, 71
Kossuth, 80, 274

"La Bibbia in Versi," by Giuseppe Regaldi, 57
Lagout (railway engineer), 134
Laguerronière, Viscomte de, author of "Le Pape et la Congrès," 245, 246
L'Album, 196
Lambertini, Prospero, 224
Lamoricière, Cristofano de, 270, 271 ; public appeals for alms and money, 272 ; financial offerings sent to, 274 ; ultimatum despatched to, 278 ; headquarters at Spoleto, 279 ; ignorance of diplomatic developments, 279 ; report of, 280 ; reply to Fanti's letter, 280 ; declaration of war notified to, 282 ; retreat of, 283 ; report, 283 ; flight from battlefield, 286 ; tactics at Ancona, 290 ; accusations against, 290, 291
Lancellotti family, 58, 59
Lancellotti, Princess Giuseppina, meeting of, with Pius IX., 3
Lanza, 401, 428, 429 ; speech on assuming the Presidency, 400 ; letter to Berti,

respecting the Infallibility, 429, 430
Laporta, 372
Larmarmore, General, 78; administration of, 268, 350; reply to Pius IX., 357; inexperience in diplomacy, 359, 360; Napoleon's communication to, 401
Latium, 213
"Law of Guarantees," 301, 311, 363
Lawyers' chances of distinguishing themselves, 87, 88
"Le Concile," anonymous leaflet published in Florence, 437, 438
Ledochowski, 332
Leghorn, 210, 219
Leghorn and Central Italy railway line, 139
Legitimist movement, distrust of, in France, 273
Leo XII., 95; appointments made by, 18; and the fishing industry, 215; formerly a student at the Ecclesiastical Academy, 333; generosity to the family of Fausti, 356; title bestowed by, on Kanzler, 399; demolition of buildings of the Ecumenical Council by, 424
Leo XIII., Academy of Ecclesiastics under, 331
Leopardi's "Operette Morali," 57
Leopold II., 160, 230
Lepanto, 69
Lepri, Pontifical commissioner, 290
Lettere filosofie, by the Marchesa Manamia Florenzi-Waddington of Perugia, 57
Levant, imports from, 204
Liberalism, 212
Liberals, Congress not desired by, 246
Lima, 145
Liri, living conditions in, 211
Liszt, Franz, 72, 323, 425; visits to Rome, 148–52; love affair and correspondence with Princess Wittgenstein, 150–2; entrance into a monastic order, 151; popularity, 152, 153; children of, 153, 154; social position of, 154; concert given in honour of Pius IX.'s jubilee, 408
Liverani, Monsignor Francesco, Apostolic Promotary, 328; "The Papacy, the Empire and the Kingdom of Italy," by, 315, 316
Living conditions in country districts, 211
Loges, M. de, attached to the French Embassy, 82
London, 77
Loreto, visits of Pius IX., 156, 161; Lamoricière's retreat to, 283
Lorenzini, Senator Augusto, charged with commission by Cavour, 307, 308
Lorenzo, Duke, "Italianism" of, 80
Lorraine, family of, 425
Louis Maximilian, King of Bavaria ("Count Auguste"), 147; visit of, to Rome, 48; at Bologna, 165
Louvre (Paris), 106
Lovatelli, Count Francesco, 156, 168, 169
Loyson, Father Giacinto, 323
Lucchese (porter), 112
Lucrezia Borgia, by Gregorovius, dedication of, 72
Lugo, 169, 174
Luigi, nephew of Pius IX., Pius IX.'s letter to, 459

Macchi, Cardinal, deacon of the Sacred College, 127, 128
Macerata, Cardinal Ugolini di, 318, 319
Macioti, Monsignor, 346
Magenta, 110, 234
Maggiorani, Carlo, French doctor at Rome, 60
Maggiorami brothers, 343
Maguire, John Thomas, author of "Rome, its Government and Institutions," 220
Malvezzi, *salon* of, 225
Mamiani, 17, 57
Mancinelli, Luigi (hatter), 110
Mancini, Minister of Religion at Naples, 304

Marcellus, Pope, Mass of, 60
Marches, the, 161, 210, 213; military expedition into, 238; increased productiveness, 420
Maremma, 205, 209
Marforio, question of, 21
Margherita, Princess (afterwards Queen of Italy), presentation to, on her marriage, 406, 407
Maria Christina, ex-Queen of Spain, 200, 202
Maria Pia, Princess of Savoy, marriage of, with King Louis of Portugal, 334
Marino, 5, 122
Marseilles, 77
Masi, occupation by, of Viterbo, 292; composition of the column of, 294; occupation of Orvieto by, 282
Massari, Giuseppe, 72, 431
Massimo family, 58, 182
Massimo, Prince, Director of the Post Office, 159, 182
Mattei, Cardinal, 7
Matteuci, Antonio, Monsignor, appointment as Director-General of Police, 54; appointment as a cardinal, 55; death, 55
Matteuci, Carlo, 300
Matteuci, Nini di, 54, 55
Mauri, Pontifical commissioner, 290
Maurizio, sent on a mission to Rome, 358
Maximilian, Viceroy of Lombardy-Venetia, 162
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 275, 347, 373; opinion of the National Roman Committee, 257; followers of, 265; imprisonment at Gaeta, 447
Mecklenberg-Strelitz, Duchess of, 200
Mecklenberg-Strelitz, George, Duke of, 200
Mecklenberg Strelitz, Prince, 202
Mecklenberg Strelitz, Princess, 202
Mediatore (Propagandist newspaper), 314, 315
Medici, Countess Natalia Spada di, 318
Medici, de, *major-domo* to Pius IX., 117
Mediterranean fishing industry, 215, 216
Melfi, landowners at, 67
Menabrea, Ministry of, 390, 391, 393; mission to Napoleon III., 349; indignation against, 396; opposition to Ministry, 400; difficult position of, 401; statement of, in the Chamber, 402; alliance between France and Italy suggested to, 405
Mentana, battle of, 394, 395; Garibaldi's retreat from, 395; behaviour of troops, 396, 397; solemn *requiem* Mass after, 399; significance of, 403, 404; medal struck in commemoration, 404, 405; causing hatred between France and Italy, 405
Merchants, taxation of, 33
Merode, Monsignor Saverio de, 295 345; defence organised by, 269, 270; appointment as Pro-Minister of War, 270; address to troops, 270; army raised by, 271; nobility conferred on, 272; public appeals for arms and money, 272; application to, from Lamoricière for instructions, 280; telegram to Lamoricière, 280; abuse of power, 337; regarded as a leader, 337, 338; work of the partisans of, 340, 341; supersession of, as Minister of War, 354
Merry del Val, 332
Metayer system of cultivation, 210, 211
Meyerdorf, Russian representative, 123, 124
Mezzacapo, General Luigi, assistance of, invoked by Perugia, 237; reproaches against, 238
Mezzofanti, Cardinal, 40
Micelli, 372
Michael, Grand Duke of Russia, visit of, to Rome, 48
Milan, savings bank, 213; retreat of Austrian troops to, 234; entry of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel, 234; revolution in, 265
Milesi, Monsignor, Minister of Public Works, 148

Milli, Giannina, 148, 236
Mincio, retreat of Austrians to, 234
Minerva, Count Pes della, Sardinian Minister, 220, 228, 243, 277
Minghetti, 72, 164, 166, 222, 226, 302; requests for civil reform, 165; petitions to the Pope, 167; letter from, 227; Ministry of, negociations re-opened by, 348; Pepoli's offer to, 349; anxiety as to the transference of the capital, 350
Ministers, lay, appointment of, 16
Modena, Duchess of, 165
Modena, Duke of, 19, 165, 166, 234
Modena, concessions for railway lines, 133; visit of Pius IX., 168; exports from, 207
Moderate party, part taken by, 257
Molinari, Abbé, General of the Rosminiani, 300
Moniteur (newspaper), 246, 282, 385
Monreale, Abbey of, 365
Monsumma, 378
Montalembert, Count, 316
Montalto, 208
Montanari, 165
Montebello, General Di, 372
Montecassino, Abbey of, 365
Monte Cava, 121
Montecchi, Mattia, 55
Monte di Pietà of Jesi, 104, 195
Montelibretti, engagement at, 382
Monterotondo, taken by insurrectionary forces, 384; Garibaldi's retreat to, 390, 391; Pontifical army sent to, 393
Monza, 243
Morelli, 144
Mori, 343, 344
Mortara, Father Pius Edgar, kidnapping of, when a child, 176–9
Mortara, Levi, Girolamo, child of kidnapped, 176; audience with the Pope, 178
Moustier, 382
Munoz, Ferdinand, afterwards Duke of Rianzares, 201
Mura, Father Bonfiglio, Rector of the University, 249, 250
Murat, Letitia, 226
Murat, Louisa, 226
Murat, Lucian, 226
Musone, 283, 284, 285, 286

Nagathim, Nicolas, 369
Naples, Crown Prince of, 1
Naples, Queen of, 51, 397
Naples, 42, 64, 129, 219; dramatic fall of, ix; medals struck in, 11; trade protection, 90; gaiety of, 115; theatrical censors, 188; described as a kingdom in Roman newspapers, 145; as compared with Rome, 209; military expedition into, 238; revolution in, 265; entrance of Garibaldi, 275; Dictator's demands upon Victor Emmanuel, 275; march on, 287; kingdom of, unrest in, 308, 366
Napoleon I., 63, 126
Napoleon III., Emperor (Louis Napoléon Bonaparte), 12, 21, 22, 52, 106, 126, 178, 323; letter of, to Gregory XVI., 16; appointments made by, 29; election as Decennial President, 53, 54; letter to Colonel Ney, 158; message to the Emperor of Austria, 198; attempt on life of, 219; meeting of, with Cavour, 221; hatred of the Curia for, 222; desire of, for a Congress, 223, 224; entry into Milan, 234; disquieting news received by, 238; presentation of sword and address to, 244; letter of Pius IX. to, 245; reply to Pius IX., 246; scheme for alliance with Piedmont, 246, 247; sword for, subscribed for, 260; address to, 260, 261; public hatred of, 273; letter to promoters of addresses and gifts, 274, 275; Minister of Turin recalled by, 276; political desires of, 276; denial of fictitious despatches, 282; attitude of, towards Papal power, 291; Cavour's representations to, 293; negotiations with Rome cancelled by, 308; scheme of

Ricasoli sent to, 311 ; invasion of Pontifical States suffered by, 312, 313 ; reasons of, for declining commission to Rome, 313 ; desire for ending the French occupation of Rome, 347, 348 ; intermediary chosen for, 349 ; position of, after Sadowa, 374 ; mission from, to Florence, 374 ; delusions concerning, 380 ; hesitation of, 383 ; squadron despatched by, 385 ; telegram to Victor Emmanuel, 385 ; public indignation against, 396 ; *rôle* of, 400 ; communication to Lamarmoro, 401 ; uneasiness and fears of, 405 ; desire for an alliance with Italy, 439 ; Roman question as affecting, 440 ; action of, after the declaration of war, 441, 442 ; defeat at Sedan, 443 ; influence of, in Rome, 443
Napoleonic Code, 15, 16
Napoleonic Empire, fall of, 458
Nardoni, Colonel of the Gendarmérie, attempt on the life of, 23
National Printing Press, 260
National Roman Committee, demonstrations organised by, 228, 252 ; students forbidden by, to take part in the carnival, 259 ; constitution, 256 ; attacks and calumnies on, 257 ; classes favourable to, 258 ; meeting places of, 259 ; secret printing house, 260 ; subscriptions promoted, 260 ; address to Victor Emmanuel, 261 ; distribution of money by, 261 ; principles of, 264 ; accusations against the Committee of Action, 265, 266 ; Liberalism fostered by, 334 ; defence of Fausti printed and published by, 345 ; suppression by, of the *Roma o Morte*, 267 ; attempts of, to avert a revolution, 291 ; assistance given by, to Passaglia, 310 ; Ricasoli's instructions to, 374 ; Rattazzi's distrust of, 376
Naudin (singer), 10
Nazione (Florentine newspaper), 309
Neapolitan frontier, limit of, 2
Neapolitan Government, 218
Neapolitan society, 76
Neapolitan theatrical company visits Rome, 191
Nemi, miraculous crucifix at, 122
Nettuno, 122
New Italy, struggle with the Vatican, 247
Newman, Cardinal, 426
Ney, Colonel, 15, 16, 158
Nibby, 71
Nice, 221, 247
Nicholas, Grand Duke of Russia, visit of, to Rome, 48
Nigra, Count Constantino, 223, 276, 291, 304, 311, 348 ; difficulty of mission entrusted to, 312 ; Napoleon's opinions expressed to, 349 ; warnings of, 380, 382 ; delicate position of, 383 ; conversation with Rouher, 405 ; observations of, 458
Noble Guard, 159, 457
Nola, 129
Nuzzi (baker), 140

Octroi, 90
Odalescalchi, Pietro, Prince, President of the Pontifical Academy of Archæology, 57, 111
Oldenburg, Grand Duke of, visit of, to Rome, 48
Olga of Würtemberg, 425
Oliva, 372
Ollivier, Blondina, daughter of Liszt, 154
Ollivier, Emilio, 154, 323
"Operette morali," by Leopardi, 57
Oreglia, Cardinal, 332
Orènoque, man-of-war, sent to defend the Pope, 442
Orta, 208
Ortalda, Canon, mission to the Pope, 388
Orsini, Domenico, Prince, Minister of War, senator of Rome, 18, 67, 145, 148, 187
Orsini, Felice, exile of, 219

Orvieto, 291, 294, 312, 313; occupation of, by Masi, 282; capitulation, 287; Garibaldi's speech at, 379
Osimo, 206, 282
Osservatore Romano (newspaper), 196, 330, 407
Ostia, 64
Ottaiano, Medici d', prelate and *majordomo*, 1, 3
Oudinot, General, 7, 26, 30, 113, 114

Paafico, Isaac, 181
Padua, 318
Palatine guards, article in capitulation respecting, 457
Palermo, revolution in, 265
Palestrina, 60, 149
Paliano, fortress of, 299
Pallavicini family, hospitality of, 59
Pallavacini, Marchese, 163
Panebianco, 325
Pantaleoni, Diomede, English doctor at Rome, 60, 260, 326, 327; mission to Rome entrusted to, 297; negotiations with Rome undertaken by, 298–301; conference with Passaglia, 302; letter of complaint to Cavour, 303; threatened by Pius IX., 305; flight to Turin, 305; letter from, respecting negotiations with Rome, 305
Panunto (a rag-seller), 413
Papal army, 30; expenditure on, 35; enrolments, 37, 38, 274; rout of, at at Castelfidardo, 281; advance, 283; recalled to Rome, 386; extinction at, Castelfidardo, 287; portion of Expeditionary Force to join, 393; return to Rome, 398; resistance offered by, 451; disarmed, 459
Papal Bank, 31, 32, 38, 39, 213
Papal diplomatists, action of, after the French evacuation, 376
Papal flag lowered at Castel San Angelo, 459
Papal Government, tyranny and unpopularity of, 24, 27; titles restored for loans, 81; railway contracts, 136; treatment of rural population, 212; savings banks encouraged, 213; cessation in the provinces, 236; protests against, 239; classes unfavourable to, 258; factions within, 337
Papal Infallibility, 427, 428, 431, 436
Papal Legations, 174, 213; government of, 205; cultivation in, 208; roads in, 210; theatrical season, 236; assembly of, at Bologna, 242; plebiscite decreed in, 247; rising of, 265; loss of, 298
Papal party, violence of, against the *Mediatore* newspaper, 315
Papal States, extent of, v, 2; fall of, ix; paper-money currency in, 15; bad governance of, 17; currency, 31; taxation, 32, 34, 35, 44, 45, 65, 68; postage stamps, 37; customs, 68, 87; landowners, neglect of estates, 89, 90; railway line laid, 129–33; revolution in, affecting the political situation, 138, 139; Board of Works, 129, 130; economic condition, 202, 203, 207–11; customs, condition of, 204, 205; population, 205; industries, 206; savings banks in, 213; insurance societies, 214, 215; mercantile navy, 215; exiles from, 219; limitation of, 293; invasion of, consented to by Napoleon III., 312, 313; defence of frontier, obligations respecting, 366; integrity of, undertaken at the Convention, 366; insurrection in, 381; insurrectionary bands entering, 390; campaign, 449, 450; cessation of existence, 459
Paris, 77, 219; railway bonds, 138; Congress of Paris, 158, 166, 225; diplomacy in, 291; Convention signed in, 350, 351; Cavour's negotiations with, 307; minister sent to, 402
Parma, Duchess-Regent of, 165
Parma, Duke of, 19, 166
Parma, 133, 234, 272
Pasolini, Count Giuseppe, 158, 159, 163–6, 171, 235

Pasquino, 21
Passaglia, Father Carlo, 326, 327; mission to Rome entrusted to, 297; negotiations with Cavour opened by, 299–301; memorandum drawn up by, 301; recalled to Turin by Cavour, 302; meetings with Cavour, 302; second negotiations undertaken by, 303; letter from Cavour, 303; threatened by Pius IX., 305; correspondence with Cavour, 306, 307; position of, in Rome, 308, 309; pamphlet "Pro Causa Italica" condemned by the Congregation of the Index, 309; flight from Rome, 309, 310; advice of, 314, 315; friendship for d'Andrea, 329
Passo Corese, Garibaldi's retreat to, 395
Patriarchal system in Italy, 67
Patrizi, Cardinal, 5, 28, 119, 172
Patrizi, Marchese, address to the Pope organised by, 296
Patrizi, Vicar, 328
Paul V., 63
Peace Congress at Geneva, Garibaldi's speech at, 379
Pentini, Cardinal, 320, 321
Pepoli, Marchese, Giocchimo, 225, 226, 294; political views, 226, 227; letter from, 227, 228; nomination as Commissioner Extraordinary of Umbria, and subsequent behaviour, 291, 292; Cavour's letter to, 292; chosen as intermediary with Napoleon, 349
Pericoli, Monsignor, 281
Persano, Admiral, 289, 290
Perugia, 209; visit of Pius IX., 159–61; industries at, 207; cultivation in, 208; insurrection, 237; unpreparedness of, 239; weak defence of, by Pontifical Government, 282; De Sonnaz, march on, 282; fall of, 287; occupation of, 291, 292; dispersal by prefect of insurgents, 378
Peruzzi, Simeono, 59
Pesaro, 208, 209, 215; visit of Pius IX. to, 162; garrison at, 280; surrender of, to Cialdini, 282; fall of, 287
Pescia, Garibaldi's speech at, 378
Petito "Pulchinella," visits Rome, 191, 192
Pianetti, Cardinal, 293
Pianori, exile of, 219
Piedmont, Prince of, 406, 407
Piedmont, 129, 175; personal influence in, 56; relations with the Holy See, 179; political attitude of, 218; treaty with France, 221; Napoleon's scheme for alliance with, 246, 247; encroachment of, 268
Piedmontese, charges made by Pius IX. against, 166
Piedmontese clergy and the Episcopacy, struggle between, 120–1
Piedmontese deputation, desertion of, from first basis, 379
Piedmontese soldiers, tokens given to, 260
Pimodan, Georges de la Vallée de Rarécourt, General, 289; arrival of column, 283, 284; speech to his staff, 284; attack on Italian outposts, 284; death in action, 285
Pinelli, 154
Pio-Latrina railway company, 136, 138
Piombino, Prince of, 79, 80
Piperno, 18
Pisa, 172
Pistoia, 172; railway construction to, 133; Garibaldi greeted by followers from, 378
Pius VII., 108
Pius IX., v, vi, viii, 57, 107, 194, 220, 222, 233, 240, 407; parting of, with Ferdinand II. of Naples, 1; travelling coach described, 2; voyage to Rome, 2–5; entry of, into Rome, 5; official entry into Rome, 6, 7; visit of, 8; medals struck in commemoration of the restoration, 10–12; endowment of a chaplaincy, 12; appointments made by, 18; promises of, of civil administration, 21; order restored by return of, to Rome, 22; commutation by, of a death sentence,

23; opinion of Pontifical army, 30; commissions nominated by, 38; noble patrimony of, 40; consistory of, for the creation of cardinals, 40; erection by, of cenotaph to Pellegrini Rossi, 48; royal visit to, 1852, 51; amnesty, 65; flight of, 65; ingenuousness of, 72; distribution of charity on anniversary of coronation, 99; peaceful years, 117; leading trait, 117; surprise visits of, 117, 118; interest in archæology and art, 118, 119; expedition to the country, 119, 120; accident to, 120, 121; personal characteristics, 121–4; dogma of the Immaculate Conception inaugurated by, 127, 128; interest of, in telegraphy, 128, 129; inauguration of railways, 129, 131; fishermen's offering to, 131; blessing a railway bridge, 133, 134; erection by, of monument to Tasso, 147, 148; Gounod's march composed for, 149; refusal of, to consent to Liszt's marriage with Princess Wittgenstein, 150; acquaintance with Liszt, 153; official visits to the provinces, 156–72; departure from Rome, 159, conversation with Count Giuseppe Pasolini, 163, 164; objections of, to civil reforms, 165; charges of, against the Piedmontese, 166; letter respecting reform parties at Bologna, 167; political results of provincial tour, 173–5; letter to his brother, 174; audience of Mortaro, 178: attitude towards kidnapping of a Jewish child, 179; erection of Protestant church forbidden, 183; ceremonies of abjuration, 183, 184; reception of the Prince of Wales, 198; audiences granted by, 199; visit to the ex-Queen of Spain, 201; enlargement of certain seaports ordered, 215; displeasure of, at Cavour's despatch, 220; loss of his friends, 230; pronouncement of, at Bologna, 242; consent given for a Confederation of the Italian States, 244; European Congress consented to by, 244–5; Napoleon III., reply to, 246; greater excommunication by, 247; students' loyalty to, 253; bust of, broken by students, 254; religious authority respected, 256; refusal to make concessions, 257; influence of Ultramontanes over, 270; appointment of De Merode as Pro-Minister of War, 270; financial offerings sent to, 274; commission appointed by, for collection of offerings, 274; effect on, of defeats of the Papal army, 291; medal struck by, in commemoration of Castelfidardo, 295, 296; loyal address to, 296; letter from Victor Emmanuel to, 298; memorandum of negotiations with, 301; attacks on the Italian Government, 304, 305; illness of, 306, 307; anger of, with Passaglia, 309, 310; addresses to, 313, 315; treatment of Pentini, 320; treatment of Cardinal Tosti, 322; hatred for d'Andrea, 328–30; brief for suspension of d'Andrea, 329; retraction of d'Andrea accepted by, 330; visits of, to Sacred Image at S. John Lateran, 335, 336; De Merode's influence with, 338; permission of, for the arrest of Fausti, 341; refusal to accept Antonelli's resignation, 345; distrust of the Italian Government, 352; proclamation of the Syllabus, 353, 354: refusal of pardon to Fausti, 356; letter to Victor Emmanuel, 357; chagrin of, at failure of Vegezzi's mission, 360; reception of delegates from Victor Emmanuel, 361; attitude towards proposals of Tonello, 363; schemes accepted by, 365; necessity for sincere agreement between Italy and, 368; uneasiness of, 372; reception of members of the Cætani family, 387; Ortalda's mission to, 388; attitude of, during revolution, 389; medal of Mentana for care of the wounded presented by, 397; reception

of Kanzler, 398; reception of General de Failly and French officers, 399; visit to the French wounded, 399; medal struck by orders of, in commemoration of Mentana, 404, 405; Jubilee festival, 407–409; Liszt's gift in commemoration of the Jubilee, 409; last procession and solemn Pontifical Mass held by, 412; tobacco factory built by, 416; ceremony of the Ecumenical Council, 425; *memorandum* sent to, 427; petition to, to proclaim the Infallibility, 427; desire of, for the Infallibility, 431; delusions concerning the effects of the new dogma, 432; audience with the Archbishop of Bologna, 433; anger against the anti-Infallibilists, 434; humble letter to, from anti-Infallibilists, 436; depression of, 437; attitude towards Napoleon, 440, 441; French man-of-war sent to defence of, 442; audience with Count Ponza di San Martino, 444; inauguration of the Acque Marcia, 444, 445; reply to the King's letter, 445; three days' intercession ordered by, 446; last Pontifical Mass, 446; last visit to the Scala Santa, 450; intentions of, regarding the defence, 451; anxiety of, at the attack on Rome, 453; Mass celebrated by, during the cannonade, 454; charge to Arnim to parley in Cadorna's camp, 455; orders to hoist the white flag, 454, 455; charade composed by, after firing had ceased, 455, 456; capitulation scheme prepared by, 457; letter to his nephew after the fall of the Papal Government, 459
Plombières, 221, 223
Po, river, free navigation of, 19
Podesti, teacher of painting, 142
Poitiers, Bishop of, 436
Polhès, General de, commanding the French troops, 391, 398, 404
Ponte di Ariccia, 122
Ponte Nomentano, Garibaldi's halt at, 390
Ponte Salario, 390
Pontifical Army, *see* Papal Army.
Pontifical Bank, *see* Papal Bank.
Pontifical diplomatists, *see* Papal diplomatists.
Pontifical Government, *see* Papal Government.
Pontifical States, *see* Papal States.
Pope, powers of, in election of the Senate, 41; temporal power lost, 287; guards specially attached to the person of, 457
Portella, 2, 3
Portici, 129
Porto d'Anzio, 51, 122, 123, 215, 217
Post, 87
Postage stamps, Italian governmental, introduced, 37
Postici, 2
Post office, 37
Prato, 172
Precettati instituted by the police, 255
Prelacy, powers of, 87
Priests forbidden to frequent theatres, 186
Prim, 144
"Prima Primaria," society of, directed by the Jesuits, 336
Princes, 66, 92
Provisional commission, notifications of, 41, 42
Prussia, Albert, Prince of, 200
Prussia, King of, 200, 202
Prussia, Queen of, 200, 202
Prussia, recognition by, of the kingdom of Italy, 335
Public works, by whom carried out, 43, 44
Pucinelli, 109

Railway Companies, 259
Railway enterprise, 174
Railways, inauguration of, 20, 87
Ramaciotti, 154
Rampolla, Cardinal, 332
Rasponi, Count Giulio, of Ravenna, 226

Ratisbon, Liszt concert at, 408, 409
Rattazzi, 166, 366, 367, 387, 400; opinion of, respecting the transference of the capital, 350; declaration upon the Roman question, 375; Ministry of, 375; distrust of the National Roman Committee, 376; events after formation of Cabinet, 377; influence of opposing currents on, 379; opinion of the Centre of Insurrection, 379; indecision of, 380; disregard of French menaces, 381; reply of, to Nigra's warnings, 382; rejection of suggestion for a Congress, 383; events following resignation of, 388; speech in the Chamber, 402, 403; resignation, 403, 404
Ravenna, 163, 174, 209; Pius IX.'s visits, 156, 157, 168–71; passport system, 206; cultivation in, 208; enlargement of port, 215; rising in, 235; departure of Apostolic delegate and troops, 235; industrial revival in, 421
Rayneval, Count Alfonso De, Minister for France, 29, 53, 54, 118, 220
Red Triumvirate, *see* Triumvirate of Cardinals.
Regaldi, Giuseppe, author of "La Bibbia in versi," 57
Reisach, Cardinal, 274
Religion, perfunctoriness of, 84
Renan's "Vie de Jesus," public demonstrations against the publication of, 335
Reno, 133
Rianzares, Duke of, *see* Munoz, Ferdinand.
Ricasoli, Baron Bettino, 72, 241, 315, 348; scheme of, 308, 311; note drawn up by, 313; reply to charges against, 313, 314; opinion respecting the transference of the capital, 350; resumption of office as Prime Minister, 360; retirement of, 367; takes up residence in Rome, 368; administration of, 268; Garibaldi's proclamations on the fall of, 372; difficulties confronted by Ministry, 373, 374; severe precautions taken by, 374; resignation of office, 374, 375; ministry of, 377
Ricca, Father, 56
Rice cultivation, 211
Ricotti, Minister of War, 449
Rieti, 386
Rimini, 208, 215, 235
Ripagrande, 19, 36
Ripetta, Institute of Fine Arts, 142, 252
Riseis, de, contractor of Neapolitan railways, 106, 107
"Risorgimento," hostility to, 29
Ristori, Adelaide, 189, 190
Rivalta, Captain, 287, 442
Rivarola, Cardinal, 16, 17
Rocca, Della, commander of an army corps, 277
Rochefoucauld, Duc de la, 273
"Roma e il mondo moderno" by Tommaseo, 57
Romagna, living conditions of peasantry, 57, 169, 207, 211; suppression of insurrections by native troops, 236; students from, sent down, 251; Republicans in, 265; increase in productiveness, 420
Romanowski of Leuchtenberg, Princes, 202
Roma o Morte (Republican newspaper), 266, 267
Roman aristocracy, 65–69, 75–98, 447
Roman Campagna, conditions of shepherds and peasants, 98, 211, 212
Roman college, influence in social life, 85
Roman committees, 258, 265
Roman district, cardinal president of, 44
Roman emigrants, deputation to Garibaldi, 371
Roman middle-class, 87, 88, 89, 92
Roman municipality, behaviour of, on the taking of Rome, 457, 458
Roman plebiscite to Victor Emmanuel, 69

Roman province, extent of, v
Roman Republic, corn laws, 97, 448
Roman *salons*, Diplomatic Body welcomed in, 81, 82
Roman Senate, presentation to, 408
Roman Theatres: Alibert, 191, 343; Apollo, 127, 185, 186, 187; Argentine, closing of, 10, 192; Caprinica, 189; Corea, 190; Metastasio, 189, 190; Tordinone, 10, 185, 190, 193, 199; Valle, 189, 190, 193
Rome, laity in, vi, vii; changes in, since 1870, vi; return to, of Pius IX., vi, viii; general feeling in, *re* expulsion of Pius IX., ix; entry of Pius IX. to, 5-8; Palazzo Poli, 9; restoration of the Pope, public attitude towards, 10; Villa Albano, 11, 456; S. Luigi dei Francesci, endowment of chaplaincy in, 12; Minister in, of the French Republic, 12; burning of bonds of provisional and Republican governors, 14; paper-money currency in, 15; Curia, 17, 290, 316; French and Pontifical police in, 22; roll-call at French barracks in, 22; order restored in, 22; crimes enacted, 23; incompetency of police, 23, 24; moral disorder in, after the restoration, 25; French entry into, 26; council of war, 26; attitude of nobility, 27; Palace of the Ecclesiastical Academy, military tribunal stationed at, 28; Palazzo Colonna, 28; Palazzo Madama, 31, 115; "Depositeria" bank, 32; protests in, against taxation, 33, 34, 35; re-entry of French troops, 39; Senate, 41; municipal body, organisation of, 42; police regulations, 42; elementary education, 43; economic transformation, 45-8; royal visitors to, after the restoration, 48; influx of strangers, 1851, 49; refuge for infants, 50; St. Peter's, coronation of Gregory XVI., 52; S. Luigi de Francesi, 53; observatory, 55; University ("Sapienza"), 56, 57, 64, 109, 249-52, 254, 258, 369; international life in, 57; Roman College, 57; Academy of Archæology, 57, 58; apartment-letting in palaces, 59; Diplomatic Corps, entertaining by, 59; Campidoglio bells, 60; carnival, 60-63; Villa Pandolfini, 63; closing of theatres during Lent, 63; church attendance during Lent, 64; taverns in, customs, 73; Sant' Agnese, burial of the Princess Doria at, 77; Ludovisi quarter, 80; Palazzo Doria, incident at a reception given at, 83; restaurants, 94; cost of living, 94, 95; charitable institutions, 96; census, 1871, 97; Jesuit charity, 98; public letter-writers, 98; charity commissaries, 99; parish priests, 99-100; charitable assistance, 98-101; education, 103; mortmain system, 103; Banca Romana, 105, 108, 173, 213, 259; Merle library, 109; cafés, 109-14, 141; clubs, 110-13, 146, 231, 452; portico of Veio, 110; Palazzo Sciarra, 111; Bonifazi library, 111; Corso, 111, 112, 113; Marignote houses, 112; lifelessness of, 115; Antonine column, suicides from, 115; the Ghetto, 116; churches restored, 118; Pius IX.'s walks and drives in, 118; senate, 120; dogma of the Immaculate Conception promulgated, 127, 128; first telegraph line, 128, 129; first railways, 129, 130, 134, 135; money-lenders, high interest extorted by, 140; Virtuosi of the Pantheon, Academy, 142; Academy of San Luca, 142; regulations for artists, 143; visit of Gounod and Lizt, 148, 149; concert halls, 154, 155; slight domination of, over the provinces, 158; Pius IX.'s entry after provincial tour, 172; taxation, 173; celebrations on the entry of Pius IX., 173; society of railways, dowries given, 173; Catecumeni, 177; Jews in, 180-183; St. Peter's, ceremony of abjuration, 183, 184;

fashionable attendance at theatre, 186; carnival, 186, 187; theatrical censorship, 188, 193, 194; patriotic demonstrations in theatres, 191–4; school of anatomy, 199; Palazzo di Spagna, 200, 201; passport system, 206; exports from, 207; money exchange declined, 213; Palazzo Ruspoli, demonstration at, 229; revolutionary excitement, 240–52; musical revolutionary game, 252, 253; "*Precettati*" instituted by the police, 255; demonstrations in theatres, 258; banishments and arrests, 262; public feeling, 267–72; diplomacy in, 291; San Carlo al Corso, commemoration of Castelfidardo, 295; Passaglia's return to, 303; results in, of capitulation of Gaeta, 304; right of Italy to hold, 311, 312; Villa Paolina, 323; S. Pudenziana church restored, 323; Palazzo Mariscotti, 326; Convent of the Minerva converted into the Office of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 330; Ecclesiastical Academy, 331–3; revolutionary manifesto issued in, 371; arrival of General Dumont to inspect the Franco-Roman legions, 375; reception of General Lamoricière, 290; effect in, of the defeat of Castelfidardo and the fall of Ancona, 290, 291; Pantheon, 330, 331; political religious demonstrations, 336; negotiations for ending the French occupation of Rome, 347; S. Peter's, proclamation of syllabus of Pius IX., 354; departure of the French Army of Occupation, 366; Casa Salviati, costume ball at, 369; Garibaldi's intentions to liberate, 379; Pontifical army recalled, 386; order for preparations for siege, 386, 387; Cucchi sent to promote revolution in, 387, 388; attempt to start the insurrection, 388–90; proclamation from the French Commander-in-Chief, 391, 392; entry of General Failly into, 393; Palazzo Barberini, 404; public subscription for homage to "defenders of the Civil Principality of the Popes," 404; Ghetto, condition of, 409; urban conditions, 409, 410; annual processions, 411–14; social life, 416; judicial administration, 418; united to Italy, 419; disorganisation by New Italy, 420; revival of social life, 425; Ecclesiastical Academy, 426; deputies sent to, in connection with Ecumenical Council, 429, 430; International Art Exhibition, 435; Napoleon's influence on, 443; Acque Marcia, inauguration by the Pope, 444, 445; preparations for defence, 445, 446; three days' intercession in S. Peter's, 446; Pius IX.'s last Pontifical Mass, 446; Aracœli, Pius IX.'s visit to, 446; state of siege proclaimed, 446; barricading of, 451, 452; closing of convents, churches, and oratories, 452; cannonade on the Janiculum, 453; commencement of hostilities, 453; Diplomatic Corps in attendance at the Vatican during the attack, 454; entry of Italian troops, 456; capitulation signed, 456, 457; scenes on the entrance of Italian troops, 457; Campidoglio, reopening of under a new Junta, 458; liberation of, 458; necessity for the Italian Government to go to, 458, 459; coexistence in, of two sovereigns, 459, 460; national life of, 460

Rome-Ancona-Bologna railway company, 130, 131

Rome-Bologna railway line contracts, 136

Rome-Ceprano railway line, 139

Rome-Civita Vecchia railway company, 130, 131, 133

Rome-Orte-Falconiera railway line, 139

Rome, the Vatican at, *see* Vatican.

Rootham, Father Giovanni, General of the Society of Jesus, 55, 56

Rospigliosi family, 59, 62, 154, 181, 214
Rossi, De, 118
Rossi, Pellegrino, 17, 48, 49, 65, 320
Rossi and Singer, pastrycooks, 109
Rostoland, General, 26
Rothschild, Baroness Natalie de, 181, 182
Rouher, French Minister, 401, 405
Roussy, Baron de, 298
Rovere, Father Vittorio della, 112
Rovigo, 317
Rubinstein, Anton, visit of, to Rome, 155
Rufini, Monsignor, Director-General of Police, 54
Rufus-King, General, Minister of U.S.A., 111, 183
Ruggiero, Monsignor Gaetano de, 344
Ruspoli, Augusto, 80
Ruspoli, Emmanuel, 183
Ruspoli, Francesca, 183
Ruspoli, Paul, 183
Russell, Odo, 71, 82, 198, 259, 262, 320
Russia, recognition by, of the kingdom of Italy, 335
Rzewuska, Countess Callista, wife of Michelangelo Caetani, 70

Sabina, 208, 209
Sabrina, insurgency at, 382
Sacchetti's tales, 76
Sacconi, Monsignor, Papal Nunzio in Paris, 221
Sacco Valley, living conditions in, 211
Sagretti, Monsignor, 342, 343
Salviati, Duke and Duchess, 111
Salviati family, 59
Salvini, Tommaso, 189
Samminiatelli, Cardinal, 332
San Agnese, 119, 121
San Benedetto, 216
San Carlino Theatrical Company, 191
San Marino, 162
San Martino, Count Ponza di, 297, 443, 444
San Martino della Scalla, Abbey of, 365
Santa Maria Maggiore, visit of Pius IX. to, 8
St. Angelico, castle of, handed over to the Pontifical troops, 372
St. Francis de Sales, 145
Sant' Ignazio, 56
S. Onofrio, monument to Tasso at, 147, 148
St. Paul, statue at St. Peter's, 145
St. Thomas, deathplace of, visited by Pius IX., 4
Santucci, Cardinal, 301, 305
Santucci family, 299, 326
Santucci, Vincenzo, 325–7
Sapri, 219
Sardinia, King of, 222, 247
Sardinian Government, difficult position of, 218
Sardinian Legation, 255
Sardinian Minister, 120, 240
Sarfatti, Signor, Director-in-Chief of Railways, 82
Sarte, teacher of architecture, 142
Sartiges, Count di, 399, 400
Savelli, Monsignor, Minister of the Interior and Police, 20
Savoia, actor, benefit performance for, 191
Savoy, 221; flag flown at Ravenna, 235; proposed cession of, to France, 247
Saxe-Weimar, Duke of, 72
School for Cadets founded 1855, 30
Schwarzenberg, Cardinal, 432
Sciarra, Princess, 63
Scott, Sir Walter, Bart., 71
Secretary of State, 12, 32, 33, 47
Secchi, Father, 55
Sedan, 442, 443, 448
Sella, 400, 401
Senigallia, Pius IX.'s visits to, 156, 161–2; fair at, 204; flourishing condition of, 204–8, 215
September Convention, 443, 447

Sermoneta, Duke of, *see* Caetani, Michelangelo, Duke of Sermoneta.
Servants, 93
Sessa, 2
Sgambati, 153, 154
Sicily, 219; equipment of volunteers for, 261; seizure by General Garibaldi, 275
Siena, organisation of volunteers at, 269; Garibaldi's speech at, 378
Silvagni, 220
Silvestri, Cardinal Pietro, 317, 318
Sinalunga, 380
Smuggling, 32, 33, 35, 36
Società Générale delle Ferrovie Romane, amalgamated railways, 139
Society of the Carbonari, 256
Solferino, Battle of, 110, 242
Sonnaz, De, 282, 290
"Sonnets of Belli," 87
Sostengo, Marchese Cesare Alfieri di, president of the Piedmontese Senate, 199
Spagna, Sebastiano di, 2
Spain, ex-Queen Maria Christina of, *see* Maria Christina, ex-Queen of Spain.
"*Spalloni*" (smugglers), 36
Spanish influences at Court, 22
Spoleto, visit of Pius IX. to, 159; cultivation in, 208; headquarters of Lamoricière's army, 279; fictitious despatch published at, 280; surrender at, of Monsignor Pericoli, 281; advance on, 282
Spontini, founder of the Monte di Pietà, death of, 195
Stella, Monsignor, 1
Stendhal, 71
Stewards and landowners, 89–91
Stone, Mrs. Catherine, 397
Story, American sculptor, 59, 146
Street hawkers, taxation of, 33
Strossmeyer, Monsignor, 432, 433
"Studi Storici sul passato," by Filippo di Boni, 57
Subiaco, industries at, 206
Suppression of religious bodies, article concerning the law for, 365
Supreme Court, class selected for, 87
Swiss Guard, 453, 454, 457
Syllabus of Pius IX., 353, 354, 357

Tadolini, Adamo, sculptor, 142, 145
Taine, H., "Voyage en Italie," 72
Taniri, *salon* of, 225
Tasso, erection of monument to, 147, 148
Tattini, *salon* of, 225
Taxation in the Papal States, *see under* Papal States.
Teano, Princess di, 387
Telegraph, 20, 87
Tenerani, sculptor, 48, 70, 142, 145, 146
Terni, 16, 159, 206, 378
Terracina, 1, 2, 4, 128, 129, 205, 209, 215, 390
Testoni, 109
Theatres in Rome, *see under* Roman theatres.
Thiers, 400
Thomas, harpist, visit to Rome, 155
Thorwaldsen, 51, 147
Thouvenal, Marquis de, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 247
Thrürr, 274
Tiber River, 18, 22, 23, 36, 131, 186
Titles, new, bestowed by the Pope, 81
Tivoli, 64, 391
Tizzani, Monsignor Vincenzio, Chaplain-General to the Army, Adviser to the Congregation of the Index, 30, 31, 131
Todi, cloth factory, 206
Toietti, painter, 121
Tommaseo, author of "Roma e il mondo moderno," 57
Tonello, Michelangelo, 297, 360–6
Torlonia, Allessandro, Prince, 10, 58, 59, 60, 75, 87, 89, 138, 148, 151, 187
Torlonia, Donna Teresa Colonna, 58
Torlonia Villa, 130
Torre, Contessa Della, 397
Tosti, Cardinal, 321
Tosti, Father, 426

Trade, terms of taxation of persons engaged in, 33
"Il Trovatore," 192, 193
Travelling in Italy, difficulties *re*, 67
Treasury bonds, substitution of, for paper moneys, 31
Triumvirate of Cardinals, 5, 6, 13–16, 21, 25, 26, 30
Trocchi, Signor Valerio, 83
Turin, Court influence at, 56, 294; savings bank, 213; Napoleon III.'s visit to, 221; equipment of volunteers for, 261; recall of the Minister, 276; information to Government of, respecting the Pontifical territory, 293; Passaglia's journey to, 303; flight of Pantaleoni to, 305
Tuscany, Leopold, Grand Duke of, 165, 166, 199, 200, 229
Tuscany, Grand Duchess, 200
Tuscany, free trade obtaining in, 90; railways and telegraph, 129, 133; oil imported from, 207; government, 218; Republicans in, 265
Tuta, Sora, 415

Ugelini, Cardinal, 59
Ugelini, Count, 267
Ultramontanes, 124; denounced by the Curia, 269; influence over Pius IX., 270; regarded as leaders, 337
Umbria, Austrian expedition to, 80; roads in, 210; military expedition into, 238; revolutionary agitation, 381
United States of America, 55
Urbino, 157; suppression of insurrection, 236; provisional government proclaimed at, 282

Valmontone, 4
Vannicelli, Cardinal, 13, 164
Vatican, picture by Bigioli, 1; official organ of, 197; struggle with New Italy, 247; expenses of the Ecumenical Council, 434
Vegezzi, Deputy Saverio, mission to Rome, 297, 358–60
Veletri, 4, 135, 208, 209, 262, 293, 390
Venanzi, 338
Venetia, imports from, 204
Venice, savings bank at, 213
Venosta, Emilio Visconti, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 360
Verdi's "Un Balloin Maschera," 187, 199
Verdi's "Il Trovatore," first performance, 127
Verdi's "Traviata," 154
Vergine, 196
Veridico (newspaper), 196
"*Veridico*," 267
Vero Amico del Popolo (newspaper), 196
Verona, 229
Vespignani, Virginio, 44, 424, 435
Vestri, 189
Veuillot, 269
Via, Marchese Luigi da, 164
Via, Senator Da, 167
Viale-Prelà, Archbishop, 176, 177
Victor Emmanuel II., King of Italy, 166, 221, 261, 298, 308, 347, 349, 380, 428; monument to, at Rome, 46; plebiscite of Romans to, 69; visit of, to Rome, 1870, 77; Prince of Wales decorated by, 199; entry into Milan, 234; towns passed through on his journey, 294; conduct of delegates of, 304; recognition of, as King of Italy, 335; annexation of the provinces to kingdom of, 241; reception of delegates by, 243; Catholic attacks on, 243; annexation to the monarchy, 247; opinion respecting the transference of the capital, 350, 351; students' address to, 252; posting of portraits, 254; letter of Pius IX. to, 357; sword for, subscribed for, 260; letter of, to the Pope, 361; reply to the National Roman Committee, 261; address to, 261; speech from the throne, 377; insurrectionary movement encouraged

by, 381; telegram to Napoleon respecting Garibaldi, and reply, 385; effects of proclamation, 391; indignation against, 396; promise of, that the Convention would be observed, 441; letter to the Pope, 444; result of the plebiscite conveyed to, 458
Victoria, Queen, 199
Villa Favorita, 290
Villafranca, 237, 245
Villecourt, Cardinal, 274
Virginia, Sister, 414
Visconti-Venosta, Marchese Emilio, x, 118, 428, 429, 447
Vitale, 190
Viterbo, 53, 208, 209, 287; evacuation of, demanded by the Pontifical Government, 291; occupation of, by Masi, 292, 293
Voarino (pastrycook), 111
Vogorides, Princess, 183
Volpicalla, Professor Paolo, 370
Volterra, 172
Volunteer regiment raised, 271

Wagner, Richard, 150, 154
Wales, Edward, Prince of, 71, 198, 199, 202. *See also* Edward VII.
Walewski, French Minister, 247
War, beginning of, 231–3
Weimar, Grand Duke of, 149
Wiseman, Cardinal, 40, 274
Wittgenstein, Prince, 150, 151
Wittgenstein, Princess Caroline Sayn, 150–2
Wolff, studio of, guarded, 262
Würtemberg, Queen of, 425

Zappi, General, defence of Rome by, 386
Zio (proprietor of the Café Greco), 141, 143

BRADBURY, AGNEW, & CO. LD., PRINTERS, LONDON AND TONBRIDGE

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

DATE DUE

AG 20 '55

JUL 30 1968

APR 24 1973

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
DG798.4 .C44
Cesare, Raff/The last days of papal Rome
3 3645 00059681 0

41390

DG798.4 .C4713 1909
De Cesare, Raffaele,
1845-1918.
The last days of papal Rome,
1850-1870

Dominican College Library
San Rafael, California